



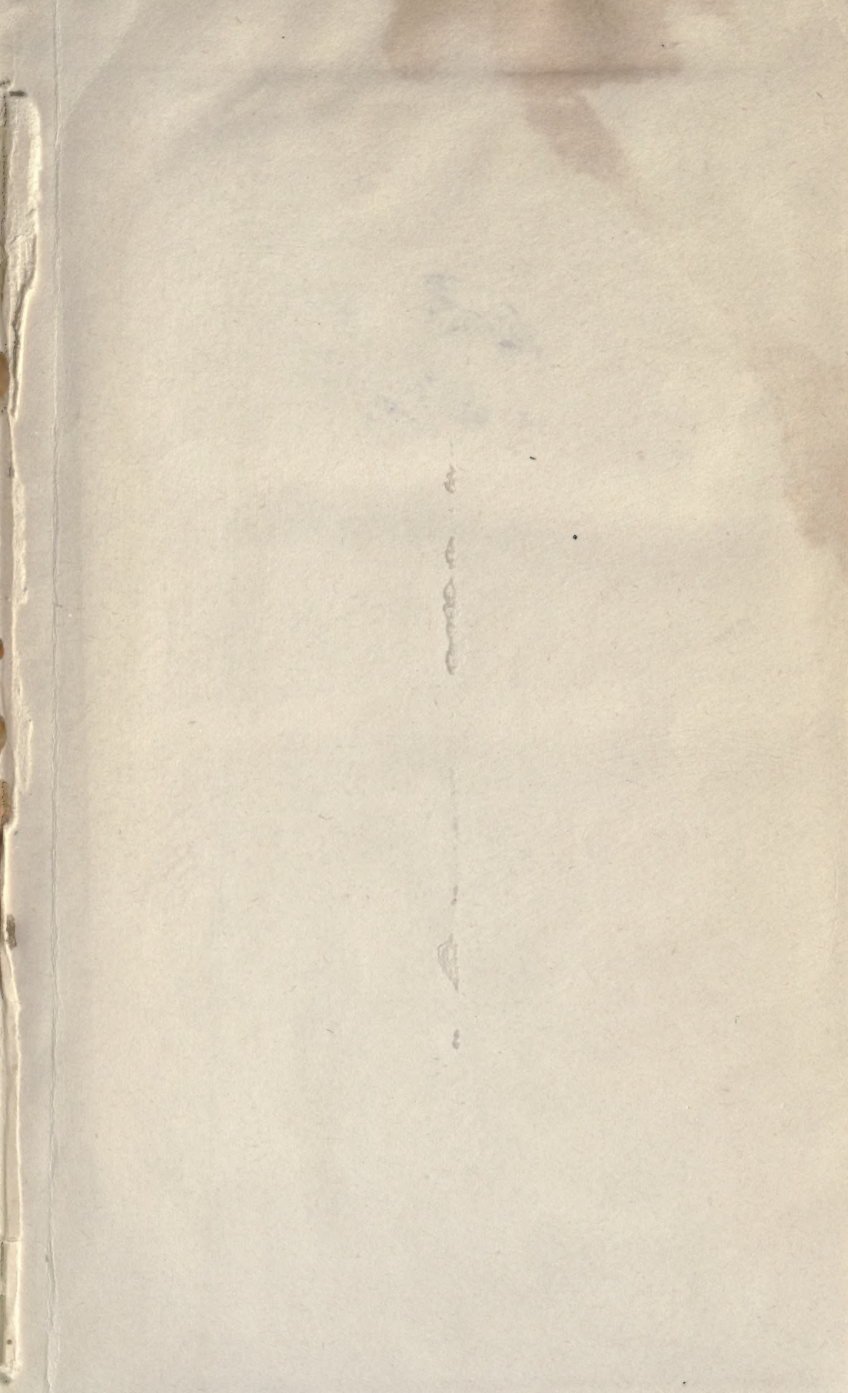
3 1761 03553 0567



Presented to  
**The Library**  
of the  
**University of Toronto**

by  
Bertram A. Davis  
From the books of  
the late Lionel Davis, K.C.









A



THOMAS WINNINGTON ESQ<sup>R</sup>.  
ob. 1746.

*From the original at Holland House.*

*Published, with Permission, by Edward Jeffery, 1825.*



~~H. 10~~  
~~V. 2~~  
~~10~~

UNIVERSITY OF YORKE  
B

MEMOIRS  
OF THE  
LIFE AND ADMINISTRATION  
OF  
SIR ROBERT WALPOLE,  
*Earl of Orford,*  
IN THREE VOLUMES.

BY  
WILLIAM COXE, M.A. F.R.S. F.A.S.  
RECTOR OF BEMERTON.

---

A NEW EDITION.

---

VOL. II.

---

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR T. CADELL, JUN. AND W. DAVIES,  
IN THE STRAND.

---

1800.

424288  
6.6.44

DA  
501  
W2C68  
1800  
v.2

Luke Hanford, Printer,  
Great Turnstile, Lincoln's-Inn Fields.



---

MEMOIRS  
OF  
SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

---

PERIOD THE FOURTH:

From the Accession of GEORGE the Second, to  
the Resignation of Lord TOWNSHEND:

1727—1730.

---

CHAPTER THE THIRTY-FIRST: 1727.

*Accession and Character of George the Second.—Education—Character—  
Person—Conduct—and Influence of Queen Caroline.—Account of Mrs.  
Howard, afterwards Countess of Suffolk.*

GEORGE the Second, son of George the First, by Sophia, princess of Luneburgh Zell, was born at Hanover the 30th of October 1683, and principally educated under the direction of his grandmother, the electress Sophia. Being at a very early period initiated into the profession of arms, he made the campaign of 1708 with the allied army in the Netherlands, under the command of the duke of Marlborough. He greatly distinguished himself as a volunteer at the battle of Oudenard, where he charged the enemy

Period IV.  
1727 to 1730.

Period IV.  
1727 to 1730.

at the head of the Hanoverian dragoons, and had his horse shot under \*him\*. In 1708, he was created duke of Cambridge, and knight of the garter; and at the accession of George the First, was so elated, that he said to an English gentleman, "I have not one drop of blood in my veins which is not English, and at the service of my father's subjects †." He accompanied the king to England; soon after he had taken his seat in the privy council, was created prince of Wales; and during the king's absence in 1716, was appointed guardian and lieutenant of the realm.

The unfortunate misunderstanding which took place between him and his father, has been already related; and although a reconciliation was effected through the interposition of Devonshire and Walpole, yet it was more apparent than real: the king gave a strong proof that his jealousy was not abated, by never again consigning to him the government of affairs during his absence. Notwithstanding this cause of dissatisfaction, the prince, from the period of the reconciliation, seldom formally opposed his father's government; but passed a retired life, confining himself principally to a small circle of select friends, with whom he lived in habits of strict intimacy: of these, the earl of Scarborough and Sir Spencer Compton were the most favoured.

George the Second was, at the time of his accession, in the 45th year of his age; and bore the character

\* Rimini's Memoirs of the House of Brunswick.

† Polnitz, vol. iv. p. 230. 232.



character of a prince of high integrity, honour, and veracity. His countenance was pleasing, dignified, and expressive, with prominent eyes, and a Roman nose. In person he was well proportioned, but much below the middle size; to which the ballad on the seven wise men alludes, speaking of Richard, afterwards lord Edgumbe, who was very diminutive :

“ When Edgumbe spoke, the prince in sport  
 Laugh’d at the merry elf;  
 Rejoic’d to see within his court  
 One shorter than himself.

I am glad (cry’d out the quibbling squire)  
 My *lowness* makes your highness *higher*.”

He possessed one great advantage over his father, that he was not ignorant of the language and constitution of England, although his knowledge of both was limited. He was naturally reserved, except to those who belonged to his household, or were admitted to his familiar society, fond of business, and of great application whenever application was necessary; well acquainted with the state of foreign affairs; and his observations, and replies to the notes of his ministers, dictated by the occasion, prove good sense, judgment, and rectitude of intentions \*. His temper was warm, vehement, and irritable; prone to sudden emotions of anger, and not easily appeased. He was slow in deliberation, cautious in decision; but his opinion once formed, he became inflexible, and impatient of

\* Correspondence, Period IV.

Period IV. of remonstrance, He was strictly æconomical, 1727 to 1730. punctual in the discharge of his expences; so peculiarly methodical in all his actions and occupations, that, to use the expression of a nobleman much about his person, "he seemed to think his having done a thing to-day, an unanswerable reason for his doing it to-morrow \*." He was rigidly attached to etiquette and punctilious forms, and fond of military parade; without the smallest taste for the arts, or love of science, like his father, he gave no patronage to literature, unless from the suggestions of his queen, or the intercession of his ministers. Cold and phlegmatic in his general appearance, he at the same time possessed a high degree of sensibility; of which he gave many proofs, particularly on the death of his queen, and the resignation of Sir Robert Walpole, which would appear incredible to those who are not acquainted with his domestic character. The love of women was his predominant weakness; but it did not lead him into any excesses which affected his public character, or interfered with the interests of his kingdom. He had seen, and lamented, that his father had been governed by his mistresses; and was so extremely cautious to avoid a similar error, that the countess of Yarmouth, the only one among them who possessed any real influence over him, could seldom venture to exert her interest in public concerns. She once requested Horace Walpole to procure a trifling place for one of her servants,

\* Lord Hervey to H. Walpole, O.S. 31, 1735.



servants, but charged him not to mention to the king that it was at her request; "because (she added) if it is known that I have applied, I have no chance of succeeding \*.

But his conduct was far different in regard to queen Caroline, of whose judgment and good sense he had the highest opinion, and in whom he ever placed the most implicit confidence. Some of the French writers call history *la fable convenue*, and not without some degree of reason; for most histories are written either by authors who have been themselves interested in the events which they relate, and gloss over the transactions of their own party, or are composed by writers who have not access to original papers, know little more than common occurrences, and derive the principal information from uncertain publications, traditional reports, gazettes, and news-papers. The personage whose character I am attempting to delineate, will afford a striking example of the truth of these observations; for it is a remarkable fact, that the historians of the reign of George the Second, scarcely mention the name of queen Caroline, who almost entirely governed the king during the first ten years of his reign; who bore her faculties so meekly, and with such extraordinary prudence, as never to excite the least uneasiness even in a sovereign highly tenacious of his authority, but contrived that her opinion should appear as if it had been his own; who solely occasioned

the

\* From Lord Walpole.

Period IV. 1727 to 1730. the continuance of Sir Robert Walpole in the ministry; who patronised and promoted Herring, Hoadley, Clarke, Hare, Sherlocke, Butler, and Pearce; and without whose recommendation or concurrence, scarcely any situation in church or state was conferred.

Her education, character, and person.

Carolina Wilhelmina, daughter of John Frederic, Margrave of Anspach, by the princess of Saxe-Eysenach, was born in 1683. Having lost her father when she was very young, and her mother marrying John George the Fourth, elector of Saxony, she was left under the guardianship of Frederic, elector of Brandenburg, afterwards king of Prussia; passed part of her early days at the court of Berlin\*, and received her education under the superintendence of her aunt, the accomplished Sophia Charlotte†, sister of George the First,

\* Polnitz.

† Sophia Charlotte, the second wife of Frederic, was the daughter of Ernest Augustus, elector of Hanover. This elegant and accomplished princess was born in 1668; and in 1681, having espoused Frederic, then electoral prince, became, on his accession to the throne, the great ornament of his splendid court. Her features were regular, yet expressive; her form, though below the middle stature, was elegant and graceful; her demeanour dignified and polite; and her conduct ever irreproachable. She never interfered in affairs of state, though always ready, when called upon, to aid with her counsels, journies, and correspondence, the views of the king. Her understanding was highly cultivated; she spoke the principal languages of Europe with such ease and fluency, that she usually addressed herself to foreigners in their respective tongues; she was well versed in history, conversant in different branches of natural philosophy, and not unacquainted even with scholastic divinity. Though her learning was so profound, that she was styled the Female Philosopher, she was not only extremely diffident, but careful to avoid the affectation of wishing to display her multifarious acquirements. She was no stranger to the polite accomplishments, fond of dancing, and did not disdain to be an actress in plays which were performed by her command: she excelled in music, sung and composed with taste; and was the great patroness of science and the arts. She drew Leibnitz to Berlin, and astonished that great philosopher with the extent of her capacity, the depth of her researches, and the solidity of her observations.



First. From her example and instructions, she imbibed that politeness of demeanour and dignity of character, those sentiments of philosophy, that ardent love of learning, and fondness for metaphysical knowledge, which merited the eulogium of Clarke and Leibnitz.

She gave an early instance of her attachment to the protestant religion. The fame of her beauty and accomplishments attracted the notice of the archduke Charles, son of the emperor Leopold the First, and afterwards Emperor himself, who made a tender of his hand. Not allured by the splendor of the family into which she might have been adopted, she declined the offer without hesitation: "But Providence (observes Addison) kept a store in reward for such an exalted virtue; and, by the secret methods of its wisdom, opened a way for her

observations. She died at Hanover in 1705, on a visit to her mother the electress Sophia, in the 37th year of her age; and displayed on her death-bed the utmost calmness and resignation. To the king her husband she wrote a tender letter, thanking him for his care, and recommending her domestics to his protection. To her brother, who was disconsolate at her approaching dissolution, she said, "Nothing is so natural as death; I have long considered it as a debt; and though I am young enough to have lived a few years longer, yet I feel no regret in dying." When La Bergerie, a Calvinist minister, offered his spiritual assistance, she said; "Friends are proved in time of necessity; you offer your assistance at a moment when I can no longer serve you; accept my thanks, which are all that I can bestow." Then turning to him, as he was going to exhort her, she continued; "For twenty years I have seriously examined my religion; I have perused the books which treat on that subject with too much attention to be in the smallest doubt; you can say nothing to me which I do not know; and I can assure you, that I depart in tranquillity." Her physician representing to her that she increased her complaint by speaking; "Adieu then, La Bergerie (she added); I remain your good friend." Observing one of her attendants weeping, she exclaimed, "Why do you weep? could you think that I was immortal?" And then stretching out her hand to her brother; "Dear brother, (she cried) I am suffocated;" and in an instant expired.

Period IV. her to become the greatest of her sex among those  
 1727 to 1730. who profess that faith to which she adhered with  
 so much Christian magnanimity \*."

Caroline espoused, in 1705, George the Second, then electoral prince of Hanover. She was esteemed handsome before she had the small-pox, and became too corpulent. Tickell did not flatter her in his poem of Kensington Gardens, when he said ;

" Here England's daughter, darling of the land,  
 Sometimes, surrounded with her virgin band,  
 Gleams through the shades. She, tow'ring o'er the rest,  
 Stands fairest of the fairer kind contest;  
 Form'd to gain hearts that Brunswick's cause deny'd,  
 And charm a people to her father's side †."

She had a hand and arm greatly admired for its whiteness and elegance, a penetrating eye, " and a smile celestial ‡," an expressive countenance, great sweetness and grace, particularly when she spoke. But these charms of her person were far surpassed by the endowments of her mind. She possessed quickness of apprehension, a natural good understanding, which had been duly cultivated; and obtained a considerable knowledge in many branches of useful and polite literature §.

Her levees were a strange picture of the motley character and manners of a queen and a learned woman. She received company while she was at her toilette; prayers, and sometimes a sermon, were read; learned men and divines were inter-  
 mixed

\* Freeholder, No. 21.

† Tickell's Kensington Gardens, p. 258.

‡ Tickell. § Rimius.



mixed with courtiers and ladies of the household: the conversation turned on metaphysical subjects, blended with repartees, sallies of mirth, and the tittle-tattle of a drawing-room. She had a happy turn for conversation, and a readiness in adapting her discourse to the persons with whom she talked; possessed peculiar talents for mirth and humour; excelled in mimicry, and was fond of displaying it; was pleased with making a repartee herself, and with hearing it from others. Her conduct, during the unfortunate misunderstanding which took place between George the First and her husband, when prince of Wales, was so prudent and dignified, that the late king always behaved to her with marks of due respect and affection, though he never cordially loved her. Yet notwithstanding her courtesy, affability of deportment, condescension to men of letters, and fondness for social intercourse, she had a high notion of the regal station, and was partial to the etiquette of a court; she seldom forgot that she was a queen, and always kept up a due state both in public and private. She would occasionally dine with Sir Robert Walpole at Chelsea; but even her visits to a favourite minister were subjected to form and etiquette: she sat down to table with lady Walpole, the royal family whom she brought with her, and the lady in waiting: Sir Robert always stood behind her chair, and gave her the first plate; then retired into another apartment, where dinner was served for him and the queen's household\*.

Queen

\* From Lord Orford.

Period IV.

1727 to 1730.

Queen Caroline was fond of conversing and corresponding with men of learning, and particularly with divines, whom she often perplexed with questions concerning the doctrines of the different churches, and consulted with a view of settling her faith. Hoadley, Clarke, Hare, and Sherlocke, were among the number to whom she principally applied. She carried on a correspondence on these subjects, by means of her bed-chamber woman, Mrs. Clayton, afterwards lady Sundon, who had acquired a powerful ascendancy over her. The divine whom she most particularly noticed, and by whose conversation she often owned that she was most instructed, was Dr. Clarke, whose profound learning, in all branches of sacred and profane literature, was scarcely ever equalled, whose piety was unquestioned, and whose playful manners and placid temper rendered him as amiable as he was learned. Dr. Clarke had only the rectory of St. James's, which was given him by queen Anne, and the mastership of Wigston Hospital; and queen Caroline proposed placing him on the bench, an honour which Clarke invariably declined. Finding that he persisted in his refusal, she desired Sir Robert Walpole to try the powers of his rhetoric, which had never been employed in vain on a similar occasion. The minister obeyed; and in a conference at Kensington palace, used every argument in his power to prevail on Clarke to accept the proffered dignity; when Clarke declined, he continued to press it; and the conference was so long, that the candles

were



were burnt down in the sockets; and the pages came into the apartment to know if fresh lights were not wanted \*. But the rhetoric of the minister had no effect, and the queen was highly disappointed, that she was prevented from placing Dr. Clarke on the bench of bishops.

Queen Caroline maintained a correspondence with Leibnitz on the most abstract sciences, in which she supremely delighted; and in the course of this literary intercourse, the German philosopher having insinuated some suspicions that the foundations of natural religion were in danger of being hurt by the doctrines of Sir Isaac Newton, she applied to Clarke for an answer to this suggestion. The answer brought on a reply, and the reply a second answer, and the controversy was carried on with all the spirit and learning which those great philosophers could throw into such dry subjects as the principles of natural religion and philosophy, and free-will and fatality. They submitted their respective arguments to the princess as to an umpire; and vied in unfolding their systems in as conspicuous a manner as the nature of so intricate a subject would allow. The princess was highly flattered with this arbitration, and permitted Dr. Clarke, whose opinion she seems to have embraced, to dedicate to her the account of the controversy. In this dedication, the learned author has not omitted to pay a tribute to her desire of knowledge and love of truth, in a strain of panegyric

\* From Lord Orford and Etough's Papers.

Period IV.  
1727 to 1730.

panegyric which could hardly be avoided on such an occasion. Nor was it solely dictated by flattery; for Whiston \* informs us, that he often heard Clarke speak with admiration of her marvellous sagacity and judgment, in the several parts of the dispute.

But although this accomplished princess possessed considerable influence over George the Second, she had acted with so much caution, and behaved with such moderation and prudence, that she was considered at the time of his accession, by the party in opposition, as a mere cypher, and the whole power and influence over the king was supposed to be lodged in the hands of Mrs. Howard, afterwards countess of Suffolk.

Character of  
Mrs. Howard,  
Countess of  
Suffolk.

Henrietta, sister of John, the first earl of Buckinghamshire, was eldest daughter of Sir Henry Hobart †, of Blickling, in Norfolk, and espoused Charles Howard, younger son of Henry, fifth earl of Suffolk, whom she accompanied to Hanover before the death of queen Anne. Having ingratiated herself into the favour of Caroline, then electoral princess, she accompanied her to England, and became her bed-chamber woman. If we were to draw an estimate of the understanding and character of Mrs. Howard, from the representations of Pope ‡, Swift, and Gay, during the  
time

\* Whiston's Historical Memoirs of Clarke.

† Collins's Peerage.

‡ See Pope's Letters to Swift, October 25th, 1725.—Miscellanies. Swift's Character of Mrs. Howard.—Gay's Epistle to Pope; and other parts of their respective works.

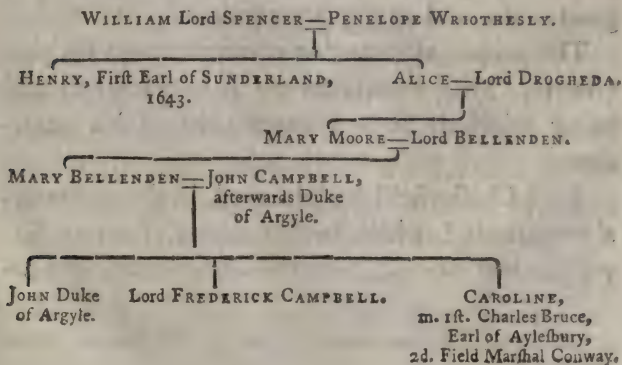
time of her favour, we might suppose that she possessed every accomplishment and good quality which were ever the lot of a woman.

The real truth is, that Mrs. Howard was more remarkable for beauty than for understanding, and the passion which the king entertained for her, was rather derived from chance \* than from any combination of those transcendant qualities, which Swift and Pope ascribed to their court divinity. She had been long wholly unnoticed by the prince, who was enamoured of another lady that was more cruel to the royal lover than Mrs. Howard. This lady was the beautiful and lively Mary Bellenden, daughter of lord Bellenden †, maid of honour to queen Caroline, when princess of Wales,

and

\* From Lord Orford.

† Sir William Bellenden, created a peer after the restoration of Charles the Second, died unmarried, making a conveyance of his estate and honour to John Ker, a younger son of William, the second earl of Roxburgh, who then changed his name to Bellenden, and took the arms. He married Mary, widow of William Ramsay, third earl of Dalhousie, and daughter of Henry Moore, first earl of Drogheda, by Alice his wife, daughter of William lord Spencer, by Penelope, daughter of Henry Wriothesly, earl of Southampton.





Period IV. and a great friend of Mrs. Howard. Gay alludes  
 1727 to 1730. to her, in his ballad entitled *Damon and Cupid*,  
 as one of the reigning beauties :

“ So well I'm known at court,  
 “ None asks where 'Cupid dwells;  
 “ But readily resort,  
 “ To *Bellenden's* or *Lepell's*.”

She is also thus described in an old ballad, made upon the quarrel between George the First and the prince of Wales, at the christening, when the prince and all his household were ordered to quit St. James's :

“ But *Bellenden* we needs must praise,  
 “ Who, as down the stairs she jumps;  
 “ Sings over the hills and far away,  
 “ Despising doleful dumps.”

This lovely and elegant woman rejected the addresses of the prince, and espoused, in 1720, John Campbell, then groom of the bed-chamber to the prince of Wales, and afterwards duke of Argyle. She was highly favoured by queen Caroline, and universally admired as an accomplished pattern of good sense, and exemplary conduct.

The prince, after having communicated his passion for Miss Bellendon to Mrs. Howard, and being rejected, became enamoured of his confidante.

The queen's  
behaviour  
to Mrs.  
Howard.

Lord Chesterfield has observed, in the unfavourable portrait \* which he has drawn of queen Caroline, *that she even favoured and promoted the galantries*

\* Chesterfield's Letters to his Son, also in Miscellaneous Works, vol. 3.

*antries of the king.* But this severe representation is totally devoid of truth, and proves little knowledge of her real disposition. It was a principle with her not to disgust the king with remonstrances, or to appear dissatisfied with his attentions to other women. But certainly never wife felt or lamented a husband's infidelities more than herself; although she had too much good sense and prudence, and too much respect for her character to treat her rivals with marks of ill humour, or to shew, by her outward behaviour, symptoms of jealousy and displeasure. She was always able to disguise her feelings and conceal her uneasiness. It was thus that her behaviour to Mrs. Howard led many to suppose that she was in high estimation; and Swift, Pope, and Gay, repeatedly call her the chief favourite of the queen.

To her particular friends, queen Caroline was not wanting in complaints of the king's infidelities, and she used to call his favourite, by way of banter, her sister Howard: this expression was considered by the friends of the mistress as a proof of the queen's partiality and kindness, whereas it was in reality the strongest mark of aversion and contempt. But, in fact, the forced complacency of her outward behaviour, was a violent effort of prudence and discretion, and she never failed to oppose the rise of those who paid their court to the mistress. Among many instances which may be enumerated, I shall select those of Gay, Swift, and Chesterfield.

Period IV.  
1727 to 1730.

Gay disappointed in his expectations from her protection.

Gay began paying his court to her when she was electoral princess, and while he accompanied the earl of Clarendon as his secretary to Hanover. But the embassy lasted only nineteen days; and being disappointed of his hopes of preferment by the death of queen Anne, the poet turned himself towards the rising sun, and soon after the accession of George the First, drew the character of Caroline in a high strain of panegyric\*.

The princess, not insensible to praise, received Gay, soon after her arrival in England, with great kindness, and gave him hopes of promotion. From this period he commenced courtier, paid a regular attendance, and was honoured with many marks of her patronage and protection. He continued, however, his attendance at court for twelve years without obtaining a solid reward of his assiduity. At her command, he wrote his fables for the duke of Cumberland, and being of a sanguine disposition, formed high expectations of promotion when the accession of George the Second would permit his patrons to provide for him. When that event took place, his hopes were greatly magnified on the queen's telling Mrs. Howard, in allusion to the fable of the Hare and many Friends†, that she would take up the hare. But his expectations were by these means raised so high, that he considered the offer of the place of gentleman usher

\* An Epistle to a Lady, occasioned by the Arrival of the Princess of Wales.

† Swift's Works, vol. 16. p. 170.



usher to the princess Louisa, though above £.200 a year, as an insult, and rejected it with scorn. Chapter 31. 1727.

Swift was convinced that the minister had prevented the bounty of queen Caroline from being shewn to the author of the *Hare* and many Friends, and he observes, alluding to it in a copy of verses addressed to Gay;

“ Fain would I think our female friend sincere,

“ Till *Bob*, the poet's foe, possess her ear, &c.”

In another place, Swift asserts, that it was principally owing to the dedication, prefixed to the *Pastorals*, in honour of Bolingbroke, and to some expressions in his fables, which displeased the court. He repeats this accusation in his letters and works, and had even the rudeness to hint it to Sir Robert Walpole himself, when he dined with him at Chelsea \*. Gay was of the same opinion, and in the second part of his fables, which were not printed till after his death, is full of sarcastic and splenetic allusions to the minister. But as Walpole was neither of a jealous or vindictive disposition, there is no reason to give credit to the aspersions of his enemies, and to suppose that he used his influence over queen Caroline, for the purpose of injuring Gay, particularly when another and a more natural motive of her conduct may be suggested.

In fact, Gay was the innocent cause of his own disgrace, for he thought that Mrs. Howard was all powerful at court, and that he, whom Swift humorously

\* Swift's Works, vol. 16. p. 169.

Period IV. humorously calls \* one of her led captains, should  
 1727 to 1730. rise by her recommendation. Pope also, in a letter to Swift, alluding to Mrs. Howard, says, *Gay puts his whole trust in that lady whom I described to you*, and whom you take to be an allegorical creature of fancy. And Gay thus expresses himself to Swift, "Mrs. Howard has declared herself very strongly, both to the king and queen, as my protector †." But in these words, they unconsciously declare the cause of his disfavour. The queen's jealousy of the interference and credit of the mistress, obstructed his promotion; and his own indiscretion afterwards, destroyed every hope. Soon after this disappointment, he produced the *Beggar's Opera*; and both his conversation and writings were so full of invectives against the court, that all expectations of farther notice from the queen were obviously relinquished.

Swift.

Swift also proved the ill policy of attempting to ingratiate himself with the queen through the medium of Mrs. Howard. With a view of changing his preferments in Ireland for others in England, which the princess seemed to express an inclination to promote, he maintained a correspondence with Mrs. Howard, whom he praised in the most fulsome manner, and courted with the most affected assiduity, by letters when he was absent, and by constant personal attendance when he was in England. But as soon as the efforts of Mrs. Howard proved unsuccessful, Swift turned his

\* Swift's Works, vol. 16. p. 168.

† Swift's Works, vol. 19. p. 252.

his satire against her, on whom he had heaped such unbounded encomiums, imputed his failure solely to her want of sincerity; and reproached her in very bitter and disrespectful terms. Lady Betty Germaine, and his friend Gay, in vain endeavoured to justify Mrs. Howard, and to prove that she was not to blame; but the misanthropic Swift, when he had once formed his opinion, was not easily convinced by any arguments. He says, in a letter to lady Betty Germaine, "For these reasons, I did always, and do still think, Mrs. Howard, now lady Suffolk, an absolute courtier." When this character was shewn to lady Suffolk, she mildly observed, "It is very different from that which he sent me himself, and which I have in his own hand writing \*."

The earl of Chesterfield is another remarkable instance. He had long coveted the post of secretary of state, and an arrangement had been made in his favour. After an audience of the queen, to which he was introduced by Walpole, and thanking her for her concurrence, he had the imprudence to make a long visit to the mistress; the queen was informed of the circumstance, and his appointment did not take place †. At another time, he had requested the queen to speak to the king for some trifling favour. The queen promised, but forgot it; a few days afterwards, recollecting her promise, she expressed regret at her forgetfulness, and added, she would certainly mention

\* From lord Orford.

† Etough.—From the communication of Sir Robert Walpole.



Period IV. 1727 to 1730. mention it that very day. Chesterfield replied, that her majesty need not give herself that trouble, for lady Suffolk had spoken to the king. The queen made no reply, but on seeing the king, told him she had long promised to mention a trifling request to his majesty, but it was now needless, because lord Chesterfield had just informed her, that she had been anticipated by lady Suffolk. The king, who always preserved great decorum with the queen, and was very unwilling to have it supposed that the favourite interfered, was extremely displeased, both with lord Chesterfield and his mistress. The consequence was that in a short time lady Suffolk went to Bath for her health and returned no more to court; Chesterfield was dismissed from his office of lord steward of the household, and never heard the reason until two years before his death, when he was informed by the late earl of Orford, that his disgrace was owing to his having offended the queen by paying court to lady Suffolk \*.

\* Her husband having succeeded to the title of earl of Suffolk, on the death of his brother in June 1731, she became countess of Suffolk. At the period of her retirement from court, she was a widow, her husband having died on the 28th of September 1733, and she espoused, in July 1735, George Berkley, fourth son of Charles, second earl of Berkley. Lady Suffolk lived to an advanced age, not dying till 1767; she left no issue, an only son, which she had by her first husband, dying in 1745 unmarried.

## CHAPTER THE THIRTY-SECOND:

1727.

*Rumours of a Change in Administration.—Intrigues of the Tories, Pulteney, and Bolingbroke.—Character of Sir Spencer Compton, who declines the Office of prime Minister.—Continuation of Townshend and Walpole, by the Intervention of Queen Caroline.—The good Effects of her Influence over the King.*

THE news of the king's death had no sooner reached London, than a general belief was current that the administration would be totally changed. It was credited, that Sir Robert Walpole had irretrievably offended the new king, when prince of Wales, as he had been frequently heard to protest, that when he came to the throne, that minister should never be employed.

Pulteney, before their open rupture, had informed the prince of Wales of some disrespectful expressions used on a former occasion, and told him that he was sold to his father's ministers, by persons who considered nothing but themselves and their own interest, and were in haste to make their fortunes \*. Since their quarrel, he had undoubtedly exaggerated this representation, and, as he continued on good terms at Leicester House, naturally used his whole credit against Walpole.

Bolingbroke and the Tories had also caballed at Leicester House, and were supported by the whole

Rumours of a change of ministry.

Intrigues of Pulteney :

Of Bolingbroke and the Tories.

weight

\* Answer to one Part of an infamous Libel.

Period IV. weight and influence of the favourite, Mrs. Howard. Swift also, in a letter to his friend Dr. Sheridan, mentions the hopes of the Tories, and the certain dismissal of Walpole.

1727 to 1730.

In fact, Walpole himself was at this moment convinced of his removal, and yet was well satisfied that his exclusion could not be of long continuance. In conformity with these sentiments, he said to his friend Sir William Yonge, "I shall certainly go out; but let me recommend you not to go into violent opposition, as we must soon come in again" \*.

In this moment of probable disgrace, Walpole was deserted by many of his friends; and Sir Spencer Compton, whom the king had already avowed his intention of appointing minister, became the idol of the day. But the event turned out otherwise, and the public expectations were disappointed.

Walpole supported by queen Caroline.

It is now well known, that the continuance of the new administration was principally owing to the influence of queen Caroline; and writers of great credit, but not acquainted with the interior situation of Leicester House at that period, have not scrupled to ascribe her patronage of Sir Robert Walpole, solely to the offers which he made to obtain from parliament a jointure of £100,000 a year, when Sir Spencer Compton could only venture to propose £60,000, as if motives of sordid interest had *alone* induced the queen to protect

\* From Sir George Yonge.



protect the minister; and as if her conduct was derived from an instantaneous impulse, unconnected with any previous communication or intercourse. The offer had doubtless its due effect; but a number of circumstances combined to influence her in favour of Sir Robert Walpole.

The queen was by no means ignorant of his character and abilities. While he was in opposition to government, from 1717 to 1720, he had continued in the highest favour with the prince of Wales. During this period, a woman of her good sense, could not fail of distinguishing that capacity for business, those powers of intellect, which raised him to the head of his party; and his wise and able conduct upon the failure of the South Sea scheme, naturally increased this prepossession in his favour.

He had, in conjunction with lord Townshend, gratified the prince of Wales, by obtaining from the king the garter for the earl of Scarborough. And count Broglio, the French ambassador, observes \* on this occasion, "That ministers not unfrequently procured places for those persons who were attached to the prince, from the consideration that the time might come, when such a conduct would turn out to their advantage."

The duke of Devonshire, who had always been the great friend and supporter of Walpole, had continued on good terms with the prince of Wales.

\* Count Broglio to the king of France, 24 July, 1724. Correspondence, Period III.

Period IV.  
1727 to 1730.

Wales. He had strongly impressed her with sentiments of high regard for his abilities and ministerial capacity, and had represented him as the person who had principally counteracted the intrigues of the Jacobites, discovered the plot of bishop Atterbury, and whose good offices were essentially employed in preserving the family on the throne. Nor can a stronger proof be alledged of the height to which this confidential intercourse was carried, than that the resolution which he had once formed to resign, was communicated by the duke of Devonshire to the princess, and that she persuaded him to relinquish the design\*.

But the principal cause which secured to him the protection of the queen, was his prudent behaviour in regard to Mrs. Howard. He had penetration sufficient to foresee, that George the Second would be governed by his wife, whom he adored, and of whose abilities and good sense he had formed the highest idea, and not by his mistress, of whose judgment he never entertained any favourable opinion. The minister had always treated the princess of Wales with the highest respect, and declined paying court to Mrs. Howard; a mode of conduct, which, according to the opinion of superficial observers, would inevitably bring on his disgrace, but which, in effect, contributed to his continuance in office. A contrary mode of proceeding had inspired the queen with an invincible aversion to Pulteney, Bolingbroke, and

\* Onslow's Remarks; Correspondence, Period IV.

and the Tories. Hence she used all her influence with the king not to change the administration.

Chapter 32.  
1727.

Walpole's first  
interview with  
George the  
Second.

The account of the king's death was brought first to the minister at Chelsea, in a dispatch from lord Townshend, who had accompanied George the First to the continent. He instantly repaired to the palace at Richmond. The king was then retired, as was his usual custom, to his afternoon's nap. On being informed that his father was dead, he continued for some time incredulous, until he was told that the minister was waiting in the antichamber with the express. He at length started up, and made his appearance half dressed; but he still retained his unbelief, until the dispatch from Townshend was produced. Walpole having knelt down, and kissed his hand, inquired whom his majesty would be pleased to appoint to draw up the declaration to the privy council? "Compton," replied the king with great abruptness, and Walpole quitted the apartment under the most mortifying impressions. He immediately waited on Sir Spencer Compton with the king's commands, who, unacquainted with the etiquette and forms of expression used on the occasion, avowed his ignorance, and requested the minister to draw up the declaration. Walpole complied, and Compton conveyed it to the king\*.

Sir Spencer Compton was second surviving son of James earl of Northampton; after having received a liberal education, and improved himself by foreign travel, he was introduced into parliament

Character of  
Sir Spencer  
Compton.

\* From lord Orford,



Period IV.

1727 to 1730.

1695.

ment at an early period, and deserted the principles of his family, who were Tories, by adhering to the Whigs. He was made treasurer to the prince of Denmark, appointed manager for the trial of Sacheverel, was chairman in several important committees of elections and privileges, in which he acquitted himself with much satisfaction, and made himself master of the forms and proceedings of the House. At the accession of George the First, he was appointed treasurer to the prince of Wales; and his constant adherence to the Whigs, his intimate acquaintance with Walpole, his numerous connections, and a character he had acquired for dispatch of business, secured him the place of speaker without opposition. With that honourable office he united, in 1721, the post of paymaster of the forces, and treasurer of Chelsea Hospital. He was created knight of the bath on the revival of that order. Compton was not distinguished for brilliancy of genius, or eminence of abilities. His formal and solemn manner contributed to the support of his authority as speaker, and seemed to denote extent of knowledge and profundity of thought, while his assiduity in business, and punctuality in accounts, rendered him respectable in the opinion of George the Second, who being extremely regular in all his proceedings, loved regularity in others, and esteemed it one of the most essential requisites in a minister. Such was the person whom George the Second had selected; and as the monarch was usually deemed

inflexible in his resolutions, the appointment seemed irrevocably fixed.

Chapter 32.

1727.

Walpole passed the two days which immediately followed the accession of the new king, in great agitation and concern, and held several conferences with his friends at Devonshire House. Scrope \*, secretary to the treasury, who was admitted to one of these meetings, described the whole company, absorbed in gloom and consternation. Either the next, or the following day, Scrope repeated his visit to the desponding minister, and found no alteration in his mien and appearance. He first encouraged him in general terms to hope, and then added reasons for that encouragement, which he had from one, whose name he could not divulge. His friend had informed him, that queen Caroline was displeased with Compton, who had been deficient in deference and respect, and had conceived a high opinion of Walpole's ability for finance. She used to converse with George the First at chapel, on political subjects; and once in particular, having observed that a want of proper funds would oblige him to disband his Hanover troops, he replied, "No, for Walpole can convert stones into gold †." This anecdote recurred to her recollection; she communicated it to the king, and exerted herself to abate his predilection for Compton, and influence him in favour of Walpole. The truth of the information

\* Minutes of Scrope's Conversations with Etough. Correspondence, Period IV.

† See chapter 30.

Period IV. formation soon appeared; the queen was assidu-  
 1727 to 1730. ously employed in removing the prejudices of the  
 king. She represented the folly and hazard of  
 dismissing a well established ministry, and of form-  
 ing a motley cabinet of Whigs and Tories; and  
 artfully took an opportunity of hinting the impru-  
 dence of placing a man at the head of the mi-  
 nistry, who could not draw up the declaration to  
 be laid before the privy council, but was com-  
 pelled to have recourse to him who was about to  
 be dismissed; she also hinted to him, that Sir Ro-  
 bert Walpole had agreed to carry through the  
 house of commons, an augmentation of £. 130,000  
 to the civil list.

These representations had their effect; and with  
 them, many other causes co-operated to change  
 the king's sentiments. Sir Spencer Compton found  
 himself unequal to the weight of government, and  
 was not eager to take upon him so responsible an  
 office. He was convinced, that he could not bear  
 up against the opposition of Sir Robert Walpole,  
 who had so much weight in the house of com-  
 mons, and who would be supported by the united  
 interests of Newcastle, Devonshire, Townshend,  
 and the great leaders of the Whigs, unless a Tory  
 administration was formed. George the Second  
 was averse to throw himself into the hands of the  
 Tories, and yet could not form a new ministry,  
 which promised stability, without taking that step.  
 Pulteney, the only man of great weight and in-  
 fluence among the Whigs in opposition, was by  
 no means attached to the Tories, and would not  
 have



have heartily coalesced with them. Bolingbroke was so extremely unpopular, that his re-establishment in the house of lords, and his admission into the ministry, would have occasioned great murmurs and discontents among those who usually supported government. Lord Carteret, the only man of abilities who was cordially inclined to join the Tories, had little personal consequence, was not the leader of any party, and did not possess the smallest influence in the house of commons.

The situation of foreign affairs also no less contributed to confirm the king in his resolution not to remove the ministry. The treaty of Hanover had been recently concluded, and the negotiations for the consummation of that alliance were in great forwardness. They had been planned and were conducting by lord Townshend, in co-operation with France. The opposition had warmly resisted the treaty, and might have introduced a new plan, which must have deranged and overturned the whole system of foreign politics. Cardinal Fleury, who then governed France, was intimately connected with Horace Walpole; he had adopted the pacific sentiments which influenced the English cabinet, and deprecated the change of that system which had kept Europe in peace for so long a period. When the news of the king's death reached Paris, Horace Walpole requested and obtained an immediate conference, which took place at Versailles on the ensuing day. In this conference, the French minister conveyed, in the strongest terms, professions of friendship from Louis the Fifteenth

Period IV. 1727 to 1730. to George the Second; and in his own name declared his firm resolution to maintain the good understanding between the two crowns. He also expressed these sentiments in a letter which he wrote on the same day to Horace Walpole. Immediately after the conference \*, Horace Walpole quitted Paris, without waiting for leave of absence, repaired to London, and delivered his letter to the king in person. The king was at first extremely dissatisfied with him for quitting his station so abruptly; but during the conference, which lasted two hours †, he gradually softened, as Horace Walpole explained, with great address, the relative situations of England and France, effaced the ill impressions that he had entertained of his and his brother's conduct, and confirmed the sentiments of the French cabinet, which were contained in the letter from cardinal Fleury. Accordingly, the king wrote, with his own hand, a letter ‡ to the cardinal, in which he declared his resolution to pursue the same measures as were pursued by his father, and to continue the same ministers who had conducted those measures.

Under these circumstances, the offer which had been made to Compton, was the only remaining impediment to the continuance of Walpole. The manner of surmounting this difficulty was previously

\* *Memoires de Montgon*, tome 4. p. 401, 403.

† Etough, From Horace Walpole, Period V.

‡ Duke of Newcastle to Mr. Robinson and the earl of Waldegrave. Correspondence. Montgon mentions the conference between Fleury and Horace Walpole, and asserts that cardinal Fleury wrote a letter to the king of England; but this letter was to Horace Walpole. *Memoires de Montgon*.

ously concerted. The queen having, in the presence of Walpole, repeated to Compton the intimation that the king intended to place him at the head of the treasury; Walpole instantly declared his ready acquiescence, and gave assurances of his best assistance and support. Compton was extremely affected at this instance of his master's kindness, and shed tears, as he declared his incapacity to undertake so arduous a trust\*.

While this scene was passing in the closet, the door of Sir Spencer Compton's house in St. James's Square was besieged by persons of all ranks, who crowded to pay their court to the new minister. As Walpole was passing through the square in his carriage, he said to a friend who was with him, "Did you observe how my house is deserted, and how that door is crowded with carriages? To-morrow the scene will be changed: that house will be deserted, and mine will be more frequented than ever."

As his continuance in office was the work of the queen, it was through her that it was first made known to the public. On the first drawing-room which she held at Leicester House, lady Walpole, among others, presented herself; but as there was a great crowd, and her husband was supposed to have received his dismissal, no one retired, till the queen perceiving her at some distance, beckoned to her, and said, "There I am sure I see a friend;" instantly the whole company made way. She

\* Communicated by Sir Robert Walpole to bishop Walton. Etough Papers.



Period IV. She approached the queen, and kissed her hand ;  
 1727 to 1730 her majesty spoke to her in a most gracious manner, and lady Walpole, in relating the anecdote to her son \*, from whom I received it, added, “ and in returning I might have walked upon their heads, so eager were they to pay their court to me.”

From this moment Walpole was courted, Compton in his turn deserted, and the ministry, with very few alterations, continued in their former offices. On the 24th of June, the very day in which Swift said the ministry would be changed, Walpole was re-appointed first lord commissioner of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer, and lord Townshend again received the seal of secretary of state. An attempt † was finally made by the party, through Mrs. Howard, to prevail on the king to confer an earldom on lord Bathurst ; but that measure being thwarted by the influence of the queen, they relinquished all hopes of success, and Bolingbroke retired from London in disgust.

Queen Caroline possessed great art in bending the king's mind to the purposes which his English minister thought advantageous and necessary, and in counteracting the Hanoverian cabals. She always affected to retire when the minister came into the closet, declared she did not understand business, and only remained as if to obey the king's commands, and not out of inclination or curiosity. She never appeared to listen ; never gave her opinion unless solicited, and then delivered it with a modesty

\* From Lord Orford.

† Ibid.

modesty and humility which captivated and charmed the king. She was extremely fond of power, though she affected the contrary, and preserved her influence over the king by consummate discretion. She was a friend to peace, and appreciated and enforced the pacific system of Sir Robert Walpole, as the only means of preserving the interior tranquillity, and preventing a rebellion; as the great cause of the national prosperity, of the increase of commerce, and of the improvement of manufactures and agriculture.

The interposition of queen Caroline, and the assistance which she gave to the ministry, in regulating the conduct of affairs, was of the highest advantage both to them and the country. She was not unacquainted with the constitution of England; and she often prepared and smoothed the way towards obtaining the king's consent to measures which he had first opposed, because they often ran counter to his German prejudices, or to his passion for military glory.

From the time of his accession, to the hour of her death, the king always appointed her, during his absence, regent of the kingdom, and an act of parliament was passed for the express purpose of exempting her from taking the oaths. He uniformly expressed as much satisfaction, when the affairs of government were conducted by her, as when they were conducted by himself; an honourable testimony of his confidence, which she amply merited by her consummate good sense and discretion. The reliance which George the Second

Period IV. placed on the queen, is evidently proved by some  
 1727 to 1730. expressions in a letter from Da Cunha, the Portuguese minister at the Hague, to Azevedo in London: "As to your journey to Hanover, I have already given my opinion; it is certain neither the king will do any thing without the queen, nor the queen without the king: and therefore, in point of dispatch of business, London is Hanover, and Hanover is London \*."

## CHAPTER THE THIRTY-THIRD:

1727—1729.

*Walpole obtains an Increase of the Civil List, and a Jointure of £.100,000 for Queen Caroline.—Meeting and Proceedings of the New Parliament.—State of the Opposition.—Important Discussion on the State of the Sinking Fund and National Debt.—Report of the House of Commons on that Subject.—The King refuses to make Charles Stanhope a Lord of the Admiralty.—Foreign Affairs.—Transactions with Spain and the Emperor.—Alliance with Brunswick.—Act of the Pardo.—Congress of Soissons.—Treaty of Seville.*

New ministry confirmed.

IN consequence of the re-appointment of Townshend and Walpole, not a single member of the cabinet council was removed, excepting the earl of Berkley, first lord of the admiralty, who was replaced by Sir George Byng, viscount Torrington, the confidential friend of Walpole; and the power of the minister was increased by the nomination of several of his friends to subordinate offices in the treasury, admiralty, and other boards of government.

\* July 3d 1736. Orford Papers.



ment. The wisdom of continuing the administration, was proved by the unanimity with which affairs were at first conducted in parliament; and the accession of George the Second, which the Jacobites abroad and at home had impatiently expected as the signal of a new revolution, took place with the most perfect tranquillity. They founded their principal hopes on the removal of the minister. The secretary of lord Orrery, had observed to the exiled bishop of Rochester, that if the project to destroy Sir Robert Walpole was successful, he had more hopes of seeing the Chevalier restored, to the satisfaction of himself and subjects, than from any Alberoni or foreign assistance in the world. Atterbury himself also acknowledged that the king knew his interest too well to encourage any attempts against the minister\*. The general despondency which they now testified, was equal to the ardour of their former expectations, and sufficiently proves that he was considered as the great support of the protestant succession, and the bulwark of the religion and constitution.

The opposition seems to have been stunned with the re-appointment of the minister, whose disgrace they had fondly anticipated, and the business was carried through the house of commons almost with perfect unanimity. The day after the arrival of the express, with official intelligence of the death of

\* Secret Intelligence from Paris, September 24th, 1727.—Walpole Papers.

Period IV. of George the First, the parliament assembled in conformity to the act of settlement, and was prorogued by commission to the 27th. On that day, the king came to the house of peers, and in his speech from the throne, after expressing his concern for the death of his father, his determination to preserve the constitution inviolable, and to secure to all his subjects the full enjoyment of their religious and civil rights; he gave his full sanction to the late measures. The address of condolance and congratulation, moved by Sir Paul Methuen, and seconded by Walpole, was carried without opposition. It was drawn up in such terms as sufficiently proved that he thought himself secure of all the influence and power which he had hitherto possessed \*. On the 3d of July, he proposed that the entire revenue of the civil list, which produced about £. 130,000 more than the £. 700,000 granted to the late king, might be settled on his majesty during life. Although this motion was considered as the price of his continuance in office, yet no one ventured to oppose it, except Shippen, who after a long speech, moved, that no more than £. 700,000 should be settled; but as he was not seconded, the original motion passed without a division †.

On

\* Journals.—Tindal, vol. 20. p. 4.—Historical Register, 172.—Chandler.

† It is a curious observation of Smollett (vol. 2. p. 131.) which must tend to shew with how much partiality and inaccuracy he compiled his history. That “to these particulars (namely, in the speech of Shippen) which were indeed *unanswerable*, no reply was made. Even this mark of decency was laid aside, as idle and *superfluous*.” The fact was, that no reply was made, not because the arguments were unanswerable, but because no one seconded the motion; a circumstance of

On the 9th, in consequence of a message requesting the house to settle a jointure on the queen, if she should serve the king; it was unanimously agreed that £.100,000 should be granted for that purpose. On the 17th, the king made a speech from the throne, in which, after thanking the parliament for this mark of attachment and affection, he gave another and a stronger sanction to the conduct of the ministers, and adverted to the flourishing state of the country. The parliament was then prorogued to the 29th of August, and soon afterwards dissolved. Thus was this short session of parliament conducted with an unanimity and zeal unexampled in the annals of this country.

Chapter 33.  
1727 to 1729.

As the same men were continued in office, of course the same measures were pursued both at home and abroad. At home, to continue the public tranquillity, to counteract the schemes of the Jacobites, to promote commerce, to encourage agriculture and manufactures were the great efforts of administration, and in these Walpole took an active and leading part. The new house of commons, which assembled on the 23d of January 1728, was of the same temper and disposition as the last; and the members in favour of administration were soon found to exceed the complement in the former parliament. Sir Spencer Compton,

Meeting of the  
new parliament.

of which Smollett takes no notice. Belsham also observes (vol. 1. p. 172.) with no less inaccuracy, "The amendment was rejected *with a great majority*," which would lead the reader to suppose, that there was a division. But in fact, there was no amendment duly moved and seconded, and the original motion, of course, passed unanimously.



Period IV. ton, who had occupied the chair, having been  
 1727 to 1730. created a peer, Arthur Onslow was elected speaker,  
 with an unanimity which could only be inspired  
 by an opinion of his integrity and abilities, an  
 opinion which his subsequent conduct fully justi-  
 fied, by an able and impartial discharge of his  
 duty, during a period of thirty-seven years \*. The  
 King's speech. speech from the throne was remarkable for an ap-  
 pearance of frankness and sincerity. The king first  
 alluded to the uncertain situation of affairs abroad,  
 to the difficulties which had attended the execu-  
 tion of the preliminaries with Spain, and to the  
 unavoidable necessity of not discontinuing warlike  
 preparations; and then, after the ordinary pro-  
 fessions of frugality, and willingness to reduce the  
 national expences, exhorted the commons to take  
 into consideration the encouragement of seamen in  
 general, that they might be invited rather than  
 compelled to enter into the service of their coun-  
 try, a consideration, he observed, worthy of the re-  
 presentatives of a people great and flourishing in  
 trade and navigation. To this purpose, he pro-  
 posed an addition to the fund of Greenwich ho-  
 spital, and concluded with recommending unan-  
 imity, zeal, and dispatch.

Address.

This speech was heard with general satisfaction.  
 The address passed the lords without opposition;  
 being presented to the commons for their appro-  
 bation, Shippen proposed, with a view to cast a  
 reflection on the ministers, after the words *disa-*  
*greeable*

\* Tindal.

*grievable and uncertain state of affairs*, to add, *at his majesty's accession to the throne*. He then took occasion to launch out into the most bitter invectives, and particularly taxed the squadron as useless and insignificant, for not having rifled the galleons at Carthage, and plundered Porto Bello. Sir William Wyndham seconded the motion with his usual energy, and observed, that the languid measures adopted by government, tended only to remove the negotiations from Paris and Madrid to Cambray, and would not assist in removing the difficulties into which this dilatory mode of proceeding had plunged the nation. But these declamatory objections did not accord with the temper of the house; they rather excited so much indignation among the independent members, that the opposition did not venture to call for a division, and the address was carried unanimously. In fact, this conduct of opposition, not only displeased the nation, but even hurt their cause in the only court, where it was likely to have any effect. For the great objection which cardinal Fleury had raised against the counsels of England, was derived from their precipitancy and violence; and Bolingbroke had laboured to impress this notion on his partisans. The ministers availed themselves of this circumstance, and in conformity to their instructions, earl Waldegrave, who in the absence of Horace Walpole conducted the affairs of England at Paris, represented with due effect to the cardinal, that the same measures to which he objected, as

Period IV. too prompt and decisive, were reprobated in England, as deficient in spirit and energy \*.

1727 to 1730.

Debate on the  
Hessian troops.  
February 14.

The first question which met with much opposition, was that made by Horace Walpole, that £.230,923 should be granted for maintaining 12,000 Hessians in the British pay. In the debate on this motion, the minority seem to have first recovered from their surprise; the Pulteneys and Sir William Wyndham spoke with great weight and art on a question which has been so often discussed, and which still continues to agitate the public mind, concerning the expediency of taking foreign troops into British pay. The argument in favour of the question was, in substance, that the late king had thought fit to provide these troops, in order to obtain the ends of the treaty of Hanover; that they were ready at hand, and much cheaper than raising national troops; that a disappointment, from the defection of the king of Prussia, one of the contracting parties in the alliance, was a special reason for retaining them; that time had manifested this to have been a prudential measure, it having prevented a war in Germany; that the reasons for taking them into pay still subsisted, and therefore their continuance was necessary till the intended congress at Cambray was finished, 34 divided against 280 †.

The opposition.

It was at this period, in which Walpole, confiding on the support of queen Caroline, took the lead

\* George Tilson to the earl of Waldegrave, February 2d and 5th, 1727-8. Waldegrave Papers.

† Journals. Chandler.



lead in the administration, and became in reality the first minister, although lord Townshend still ostensibly retained the name; that the opposition began to form itself into consistency, and to compose a firm and compact phalanx, which resisted all the efforts and influence of the minister to divide them, and which finally drove him from the helm.

Until the death of George the First, the component parts of this heterogeneous body, which consisted of a few disappointed Whigs, Tories, and Jacobites, did not cordially coalesce. Many of those Whigs and moderate Tories, who looked up to that event as a prelude to their own admission into the ministry, kept aloof from those who, as being professed Jacobites, or violent Tories, could not expect the same success. But no sooner had the continuance of Walpole in office annihilated their hopes, than the whole body became compact and united. In this respect, the Whigs became Tories, the Tories Whigs; and the Jacobites assumed every shape which tended to promote their views, by distressing government, and harassing the minister, whom they considered as the great supporter of the house of Brunswick.

The chief aim of the minister was to comprehend almost all the Tories as enemies to the government, by the name of Jacobites, or at least to give that stigma to every one who was not a profest and known Whig. With this view, his own administration being naturally supported on a Whig foundation, he endeavoured to attach to himself  
all

Period IV. all those who had been dependent on Sunderland.  
 1727 to 1730. With some he succeeded, but not with all; and of those whom he could not gain, several remained in their employments, because they were protected by the Hanover junto. This body of Whigs, small but of considerable eminence, remained his enemies to the time of the king's death, watching for every opportunity to ruin him; and from the accession of George the Second, commenced the opposition which became afterwards so troublesome and formidable \*. Pulteney was the great leader of this body; under him were ranged his kinsman Daniel Pulteney, Sir John Barnard, Sandys, and afterwards lord Polwarth, Pitt, Littleton, and the Grenvilles. Sir William Wyndham was the great chief of the Tories, and William Shippen was at the head of the Jacobites, who did not form less than fifty members. Those who supported the minister were lord Hervey, whose character and talents have been scandalously depreciated by Pope, Henry Pelham, Sir William Yonge, whom Johnson calls the best speaker in the house of commons, Winnington, and his brother Horace Walpole, whose talents for negotiation, indefatigable assiduity in business, and acquaintance with foreign transactions, rendered him an able co-adjutor.

Debates on the  
sinking fund  
and the na-  
tional debt.

During this session, a very important question, on the state of the national debt, was brought before the house, in which the minister of finance was deeply engaged. In the debates which took place

on

\* For the characters of the leading members of opposition, see Onslow's Remarks, Correspondence, Period IV.

on this subject, the opposition had declaimed against the profuse expenditure of the public money. They declared, that although large supplies were annually voted during the last reign, and the produce of the sinking fund had been applied to the discharge of the debt, during a period of almost uninterrupted tranquillity, yet the public burthens were *increased* instead of being diminished; and they observed, that if the war with Spain should continue, and new troubles arise in Europe, fresh taxes must be perpetuated to the latest posterity, and the nation must inevitably sink under such an accumulated load.

Chapter 33.

1727 to 1729.

In proof of these arguments, Pulteney had published a well written pamphlet, "On the State of the National Debt." Many similar statements had appeared in the *Craftsman*, attempting to shew, that the sinking fund had been of no service to the purpose for which it was originally intended. Walpole knew that this position was defended by the most able pens, and ostentatiously supported by laborious calculations, which the people could not comprehend. As these assertions raised great clamours at home, and had a considerable effect abroad, in decrying the credit of the nation, it became necessary to confute, or at least to contradict them, in the same positive manner in which they were advanced. With this view, the minister determined, through the medium of the house of commons, to make a solemn appeal to the nation against their statements; and his resolution was unwittingly forwarded by opposition, who did not know



Period IV. know that in repeating their attacks, they supplied  
 1727 to 1730. him with the very weapons of defence, which he  
 could not so easily have acquired without their  
 concurrence.

February 22. In laying before the commons an account of  
 the sinking fund, Walpole declared, that since  
 1716, it had discharged above six millions of the  
 debt, but that as new debts had been contracted,  
 the national burthens had upon the balance been  
 diminished about two millions and a half. Pulteney in reply asserted, that notwithstanding the  
 great merit which some persons had arrogated to  
 themselves from the establishment of the sinking  
 fund, it appeared that the debt had *increased*, in-  
 stead of being diminished, since the commence-  
 ment of that pompous project. To this Sir Natha-  
 niel Gould, an eminent merchant, observed, that  
 he apprehended the gentleman had taken this no-  
 tion from a treatise, intituled, "The State of the  
 National Debt;" that if he understood any thing,  
 it was numbers, and that he would stake his credit,  
 to shew the fallacy of the author's calculations and  
 inferences. Pulteney defended his calculations,  
 and added, that he was not at present prepared to  
 prove his assertions, but that he would do so in a  
 few days, and would also stake his reputation on  
 their truth. The minister supported the opinion  
 of Sir Nathaniel Gould, and added, that he would  
 also stake his reputation on the truth of what he  
 advanced \*. Walpole now exerted himself in pre-  
 paring

\* George Tilson to the earl of Waldegrave, February 22d, 1727-8.  
 Correspondence.—Chandler.

paring specific statements of the produce of the sinking fund, of the debts which had been liquidated, and of those which had been contracted since its establishment, with a view of submitting them to parliament on the first opportunity, which was soon supplied by the leading member of opposition.

On the 29th of February, the king's answer was given to an address, requesting a specific account of £.250,000 which had been charged for secret services; he trusted the house would repose the same confidence in him as they had reposed in his royal father; and declared, that a specific account of the disbursements could not be given, without manifest prejudice to the public. This message had no sooner been delivered by Sir Paul Methuen, comptroller of the household, than Pulteney rose: with great animation he inveighed against such a vague and general way of accounting for the public money, as tending to render parliament insignificant and useless, to cover embezzlements, and to screen corrupt and rapacious ministers. He again urged the increase of the national debt, and insisted on having that important affair debated in a grand committee. The minister opposed the immediate discussion of the question, but moved to adjourn the debate only to the 4th of March, when after the examination of the revenue officers, he should be ready to lay before the house, the state of the national debt. This motion was carried by 202 against 66\*.

Accord-

Period IV.  
1727 to 1730.

Accordingly, on the 4th of March, the commons, in a committee of the whole house, considered the state of the national debt, and examined at the bar the proper officers of the revenue. At the conclusion of this examination, with a view to avoid all general cavils, and to reduce the assertions of the adversaries to a specific account, a motion was made by the friends of the minister, "That the monies already applied towards discharging the national debts incurred before Christmas 1716, together with £.220,435, which will be issued at Lady Day 1728, amount to £.6,648,762."

In reply to this proposition, the minority argued, that for the purpose of swelling the amount of the sums said to be issued for the liquidation of the debt, the minister had put down no less than three millions, which had been advanced in 1720, to make the irredeemables redeemables; and which could not properly be called a payment of debts. They also insisted, that he had omitted several large sums, particularly one million raised upon the credit of the civil list, and deficiencies of the land tax, malt, and other funds. They concluded, that these defalcations from the sums paid, and additions to the standing debts, would reduce the £.6,648,762, which, according to the boasts of the minister, was supposed to be liquidated, to less than one third.

Walpole, on the other hand, maintained with no less positiveness the accuracy of his own statements, expatiated on the state of the nation, and



of the public debts, explained the operation and efficacy of the sinking fund, and supported the motion. The opposition then proposed that the speaker should resume the chair, but this being negatived by 250 against 97, the original question was put, and carried without a division.

Chapter 33.

1727 to 1729.

The minister having obtained this victory, re-March 4th. solved to bring forwards his public appeal to the nation, by presenting a report from the house of commons to the king, stating, in certain resolutions, the amount of the national debt, and the sums which had been liquidated by means of the sinking fund. With this view, four resolutions were submitted to a committee of the whole house, on the 8th of March; the first of which repeated, in the same words, the motion made on the 4th, that £.6,648,762 had been discharged.

The opposition, recollecting their former defeat by a large majority, and seeing that the house wholly differed from their representations, did not lay their wonted stress on the main question, but loudly called again upon the minister for an account of the sum lately employed in secret service. To these clamours Walpole made the usual reply, that it had been expended in negotiations too delicate to be specified. In the midst of his speech, an account was transmitted by lord Townshend, that the convention with Spain was signed at the Pardo\*. Walpole availed himself of this information; and acquainting the house with the news, added, "That the nation would be now relieved

\* See the conclusion of this chapter.

Period IV. relieved from the burthen of the late expences,  
 1727 to 1730. and that he could assure the members who called  
 so loudly for a specification of the secret service  
 money, that it had been expended in obtaining  
 the conclusion of that peace, the preliminaries of  
 which were now signed. The designs of those (he  
 said) who had laboured to disturb the tranquillity  
 of Europe, were thus defeated; and the purchase  
 of peace, and the prevention of war, on terms so  
 cheap, were highly beneficial to the public." This  
 information spread general satisfaction through  
 the house; the question was instantaneously called  
 for, and the resolutions passed without a division\*.  
 On a subsequent meeting, these resolutions were  
 formed into a report, which was drawn up by  
 the minister, and laid before the house, to be  
 presented to the king.

April 8th.  
 Report on the  
 state of the  
 sinking fund  
 and national  
 debt.

This is a very elaborate performance †, and  
 deserves the strictest attention. After laying down  
 the subject of the report, which was to examine  
 how much of the additional debt incurred before  
 the 25th of December 1716 had been discharged,  
 and what new debts had been contracted since  
 that time; it proceeds with making severe reflec-  
 tions against the arts which had been practised to  
 mislead the people in this important inquiry, "by  
 publishing and promoting, with the greatest in-  
 dustry, most notorious misrepresentations of the  
 true

\* Lettre de Monsieur Le Coq, au Roi de Pologne, de Londres, 23 Mars, 1728. Also, a letter from a foreign minister, dated  $\frac{1}{2}$  March, 1728. De la Faye to earl Waldegrave, March  $\frac{1}{2}$ , 1728. Correspondence, Period III.

† Tindal, vol. 20. p. 24.

true state of our debts, and of the provisions made for the discharge of them; and by infusing groundless jealousies and insinuations, as if the produce of the sinking fund had been but little and inconsiderable, or that by wrong and imprudent measures, bad œconomy, neglect, or mismanagement, unnecessary expences had been made, and new debts contracted, that not only equalled, but exceeded by several millions, the amount of the old debts that had been discharged \*." It then adopts a method that is plain, easy, and intelligible to the meanest capacity, by giving, in two tables, the amounts of the debts discharged and incurred since the 25th of December 1716, just before the establishment of the sinking fund: Chapter 33.  
1727 to 1729.

Debts incurred since December 25th 1716, and since discharged - - -	6,626,404	16	9½
Debts contracted and incurred since December 25th 1716, and now subsisting - - - - -	3,927,988	7	¾
Difference, or decrease of the national debt - -	2,698,416	9	7½

It then gives the new debts under the proper heads of the services for which they were contracted; and after having related the beginning, establishment, and beneficial effects of the sinking fund, observes, that by reducing the interest of the

\* Journals.



Period IV. 1727 to 1730 the greatest part of the debts from 6 to 4 per cent. there is a saving of one third of the interest, which is equal to a discharge of one third of the principal; and that as the annual produce of the fund was gradually raised from £.400,000 to £.1,200,000 the addition of £.800,000, if valued at twenty-five years purchase, the current price of annuities, would give a real profit to the public of £.20,000,000.

It concludes by saying, "This is the happy state of the sinking fund, taken separately, and by itself; but, if we cast our eyes upon the state of our public credit in general, it must be an additional satisfaction to us, that by preserving the public faith inviolable, by the discharge of the old exchequer bills, and the reduction of the high interest on all our standing debts, the whole credit that is taken on the annual funds, for carrying on the current service of the year, is and may be supplied for the future at £.3 per cent. or less, for interest, premium, and charges, by exchequer bills, just as the occasions of the public require, without any loans, or being obliged to any persons, for money to be advanced or lent on the credit of them; and so far is the public from being under the former necessities of allowing extravagant interest, premiums, or discounts, for any money they want, that the only contest now among the creditors of the public is, that every one of them desires to be the last in course of payment."

"Permit us then, most gracious sovereign, to congratulate your majesty on the comfortable prospect

spect we have now before us, if, notwithstanding Chapter 33.  
 the many difficulties this nation has laboured un- 1727 to 1729.  
 der since the happy accession of your majesty's  
 late royal father to the throne, notwithstanding the  
 unnatural rebellion which soon after broke out,  
 and the many heinous plots and conspiracies which  
 have since been formed and carried on for over-  
 turning the religion and liberties of our country,  
 and the protestant succession in your most illust-  
 rious family; the many disturbances which have  
 arisen, and the uncertain and embroiled condition  
 of the affairs of Europe, not a little fomented and  
 encouraged by the false intelligence, and malicious  
 insinuations which have been industriously spread  
 abroad by your majesty's and our enemies, of the  
 uneasy and perplexed state of our affairs at home,  
 as if that had rendered it almost impossible for  
 this nation, effectually to exert themselves in  
 defence of their own just rights and possessions, and  
 for establishing and securing the public peace and  
 tranquillity; if, notwithstanding these and many  
 other difficulties which we laboured under, and  
 while the sinking fund was yet in its infancy, and  
 so much less than it now is, we have been able to  
 diminish the national debts so much already, what  
 may we not hope for in regard to a more speedy  
 and sensible discharge of them for the future, now  
 the sinking fund is so greatly increased, and our  
 public credit in so flourishing a condition \*."

Such was the substance of this remarkable re- April 8th.  
port,

\* Journals.

Period IV.  
1727 to 1730  
April 11th.

port, which was carried by 243 against 77\*. It was presented to the king, and drew a favourable answer, expressing his extreme satisfaction for the removal of groundless jealousies and apprehensions, for the happy effects to be derived from the flourishing state of public credit, for the provision made for the gradual discharge of the national debt, and concluded by observing, "You may be assured, it shall be my particular care and study to maintain and preserve the public credit, and to improve the sinking fund, and to avoid all occasions of laying any new burthens upon the people †."

The effects of the report, both at home and abroad, were incalculably beneficial to the credit of the minister. Whatever were the opinions of individuals, whatever might be the cavils of those who opposed government, the statement of the minister was approved by more than *two thirds of the national representatives, assembled in parliament, and was solemnly sanctioned by the king*. At home the discontents visibly subsided; abroad the national credit was established on stronger grounds than ever. It was proved, in opposition to the clamours of the disaffected, that the kingdom could support the expences of a war. France courted our alliance with redoubled ardour; Spain was confirmed in her wishes for peace; the Emperor and Russia shrunk from a contest with Great Britain; and the dispatches from Paris, Seville, and Vienna, sufficiently announced the weight and influence which the counsels of England had gained by

\* Journals.

† Ibid.



by the opinion, which now generally prevailed in Chapter 33.  
favour of her finances. 1727 to 1729.

In this session occurred one of those difficult and critical cases, in which Walpole was reduced to the necessity of complying with the will of the sovereign, contrary to his own judgment, or of resigning. Great complaints had been made of the deficiency of the civil list, and upon an examination of the revenue officers, a motion was made by Scrope, secretary to the treasury, that the sum of April 23d. £. 115,000 be granted to his majesty, not as a deficiency, but as an arrear. It appeared that there was no deficiency, yet the house rejected a motion for a secret committee, and passed the act, by a majority of 241 against 115. In the lords, the bill met with strenuous opposition, and though carried, very strong protests were entered on the Journals, and signed by fourteen peers. This transaction gave great pain to Walpole: he is said to have used every effort of address and reasoning to dissuade the prosecution of the demand, so much as even to offend the king. The enemies of his administration were not ignorant of his resistance, and some of the leading Tories made secret proposals to the king, that if he would discard Walpole, they would not only obtain the sum required, but add to it £. 100,000. Thus circumstanced, the minister reluctantly complied, and subjected his character to much obloquy\*.

This inflexibility of George the Second exposed The king's disgust against  
Walpole Charles Stan-  
hope.

\* Journals. Chandler. Tindal. Etough's Papers.

Period IV.  
1727 to 1730.

Walpole not only to many difficulties in his public career, but to many unmerited reproaches in his character, as a man of veracity. Great embarrassment to a minister must be derived from the occasional reluctance of the sovereign to confirm the promises made to individuals of particular offices, either of honour or trust; and on such occasions, he naturally incurs the blame of either indifference, negligence, or duplicity. Thus he had not been able to obtain for his friend the duke of Devonshire the presidentship of the council, which high office was, by the interposition of Sunderland, conferred on lord Carleton, who, since his elevation to the peerage, had seldom voted with the Whigs.

But perhaps no failure affected him more, or caused more reproaches, than the refusal of the sovereign to make Charles Stanhope, elder brother of the earl of Harrington, a lord of the admiralty. The real cause of the king's non-compliance, arose from his aversion to Charles Stanhope, which was disclosed to the minister, under the strictest injunctions of secrecy. George the Second had found, among his father's papers and letters, a memorial from lord Sunderland, written in the hand of Charles Stanhope, highly expressive of strong dislike to the prince of Wales, and recommending the adoption of the most violent measures against him. The perusal of this paper excited the highest indignation as well against the memory of lord Sunderland, as against the secretary who had written it. In regard to Charles Stanhope, the king declared, that no consideration should

should induce him to assign to him any place of trust or honour; and he kept his word. For when Sir Robert Walpole espoused his interest with much ardour, he offended the king, who rejected the application, with some expressions of resentment against the minister for having recommended him \*.

Chapter 33.

1727 to 1729.

When George the First left England, things wore the appearance of a general pacification. In virtue of the preliminaries signed by the Imperial and Spanish ambassadors, a courier from Spain was hourly expected to announce, that the siege of Gibraltar was raised, and the prizes restored. But the death of the king put a momentary suspension to these hopes.

Foreign affairs.

Philip received the preliminaries on the 10th of June, and before he issued orders in conformity with his promises, the news of that event arrived. The accession of the new sovereign had been announced by the Jacobites abroad, as likely to meet with numerous obstacles, and at all events, it was supposed that the helm of government would not be directed by so steady a hand, when Townshend and Walpole were removed. Under these impressions, Philip, inspired with the hopes of breaking the strict alliance between France and England, and of again engaging the Emperor in his support, while he affected to agree to the terms accepted by his ambassador, delayed, under various pretences,

Wavering  
conduct of  
Spain.

\* Lord Townshend to Stephen Poyntz, June 3d, 1728. Correspondence, Period IV.



Period IV. 1727 to 1730. tences, to raise the siege of Gibraltar, and to restore the Prince Frederic, a ship belonging to the South Sea company, which had been seized under the pretence of carrying on a contraband trade.

The Emperor justified this conduct, by declaring, that the king of Spain was not obliged by the preliminaries to take those steps; and by his preparations, gave unequivocal signs of intentions hostile to England. The only method therefore of bringing Philip to reason, was to attack his ally in Germany, and to pursue such vigorous measures as might deter the court of Vienna from supporting Spain by invading the electorate and the United Provinces, the only parts in which the allies of Hanover were vulnerable, and which the English would be bound in honour to defend. This measure was still more necessary, because the conventions made by the Emperor with the electors and princes of the empire, and the subsidies which he was to pay with Spanish money, in virtue of those conventions, were not expired. The allies were, by the management of the courts of Vienna and Madrid, in the same state of uncertainty as to peace or war, as they were before the preliminaries were signed.

Treaty with  
Brunswick.

Among all these conventions made by the Emperor, none had a more fatal tendency than that with Brunswick Wolfenbuttel. The Emperor had already drawn the electors of Mentz, Cologne, Treves, and Bavaria, and the Elector Palatine, into his interest. His near consanguinity to the prince of Saxony, seemed to secure to him, at least, the  
neutrality

neutrality of that protestant electorate; and he had found means to draw off the king of Prussia, by the promise of guarantying to him the succession of Berg and Ravenstein. In case of a rupture, he had secured Mentz as a place of arms, which gave him the command of Suabia, Franconia, and the Rhine. Chapter 33.  
1727 to 1729.

The Elector of Mentz had already permitted him to put a garrison into Erfurt, which, by its situation, made him in effect master of Upper Saxony: but still Lower Saxony, in which circle the dominions of Hanover are situated, remained inaccessible, till he found means to make a treaty with the duke of Brunswick Wolfenbittel, by which he was to grant that prince a subsidy of 200,000 florins a year. In a secret article of that treaty, it was farther stipulated, that the conjuncture of affairs requiring it, closer engagements should be entered into between them, as well for augmenting the duke's subsidies and troops, as in relation to the town of Brunswick. In consequence of this convention, another subsidiary treaty was opened between the court of Russia and the duke, under the influence and direction of the Emperor. Had he been permitted to garrison Brunswick, not only a fatal disunion would have been produced between the branches of the king's family, but the situation of that place would have enabled the Emperor to pour into the electorate his own troops, as well as the 30,000 men which by the treaty with Russia, were to have been introduced into the empire, under pretence of recovering

Period IV. 1727 to 1730. vering Sleswick for the duke of Holstein; the greater part of Westphalia would have been laid under contribution, even to the frontiers of Holland; and the kings of Denmark and Sweden would have been kept in awe, by being forced to provide for the safety of their own possessions on the side of Germany.

In this dangerous situation of affairs, when the king's German dominions, and through them the United Provinces, were threatened by the combined arms of Austria, Russia, and Prussia, and when the possession of Brunswick, as a place of arms for the allies of Vienna, would have enabled the Emperor to penetrate into Lower Saxony, and bring on a general war, a treaty was negotiated and concluded with the duke of Brunswick Wolfenbittel, which put an instant check to the views of the Emperor, and to the hopes of Spain. This treaty, negotiated between lord Townshend and count Dehn, the confidential minister of the duke of Brunswick, was signed at Wolfenbittel, on the 23d of November 1727. It stipulated a renewal of the family compact, according to the treaty of the 6th of May 1661, by which Brunswick was to be kept for the common safety of the house of Lunenburg, and not delivered up to any other power; a mutual guaranty of dominions; mutual assistance in case of attack; a subsidy of £. 25,000 a year, during four years, to the duke of Brunswick, who was to furnish at least 5,000 men. This treaty, if considered in its general effects and tendency to the pacification



pacification of Germany, was a master-piece of policy: it united the two branches of the house of Lunenburgh, who had been long at variance; and by preventing the progress of the Imperial arms, saved the electorate of Hanover from hostile inroads.

Chapter 33.

1727 to 1729

These prudent and vigorous measures had the effect for which they were designed. The Emperor was reduced to a state of inaction; and Spain, unable to maintain an unequal contest with the allies of Hanover, submitted with reluctance, and ratified the preliminaries of peace at the Pardo, a royal palace near Madrid, in conformity to a declaration settled between Horace Walpole and cardinal Fleury, and made by count Rothembourg, the French minister in Spain. In consequence of this act, the congress of Soissons was held, where the plenipotentiaries of all the powers concerned in the late troubles were assembled; and although nothing material was transacted, yet the negotiations were managed, on the part of the Hanover allies, in such a manner as to create a division between the courts of Vienna and Madrid. The project of a provisional treaty, negotiated between the Imperial, British, and French plenipotentiaries, had so alarmed the king of Spain, and created so much uneasiness in the queen, that they required from the Emperor a positive declaration on the subject of marrying the two archduchesses to the two Infants of Spain, and his refusal to explain himself, excited their resentment to such a degree, as to give England

and

Act of the  
Pardo.

Period IV. and France an opportunity of detaching them  
 1727 to 1730. from the Emperor.

Treaty of Seville.

1729.

The breach being now made, a reconciliation speedily took place between the allies of Hanover and Spain. Philip sacrificed the Emperor, as the Emperor, by declining to co-operate in the siege of Gibraltar, had sacrificed him, signed the preliminaries at Pardo, and concluded, at Seville, the 29th of November, with Great Britain and France, a treaty of peace, union, and mutual defence. This treaty, besides the restoration of peace, and the renewal of all former treaties between Great Britain and Spain, stipulated the introduction of six thousand Spaniards, instead of neutral troops, as specified by the quadruple alliance, into Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, for securing to Don Carlos the eventual succession to those duchies, in case the reigning sovereigns should die without issue male; and if the Emperor would not acquiesce, forcible means were to be used for effectuating the introduction.

In return for this single article granted to Spain, Great Britain obtained immediate redress of some grievances, the promise of redress in others, new guaranties of all her possessions, and of all her rights of trade, and a tacit exclusion of any claim to Gibraltar, upon which to be silent, after the clamorous demands made by Spain, was the same as a public renunciation\*.

Although

\* The contents of the part of this chapter which relates to foreign affairs, have been principally drawn from the various dispatches of Horace Walpole and William Stanhope, in the Walpole and Stanhope

Although Walpole suffered the negotiations to be ostensibly managed by Townshend, and seemed to take no part in the various transactions, yet he watched with a jealous eye the progress of the business. In the secret correspondence which he constantly held with his brother Horace, whose opinion had a great influence over Townshend, he directed all his advice and views to the final establishment of peace. He was on the one hand equally studious not to offend the Emperor beyond hopes of recovery, who he well knew, in case of a reconciliation between France and Spain, could alone in future prevent the aggrandisement of the house of Bourbon, and on the other side, was equally anxious to facilitate an accommodation with Spain, for the sake of restoring the British commerce, which had received a deep blow from the rupture with that country. The treaty of Seville, was indeed principally owing to his interference or directions; and Townshend's repugnance to this plan of pacification, was overruled by the prudence and discretion of his colleague.

Chapter 33.  
1727 to 1729.  
Walpole promotes the peace.

hope papers, and from the state of the negotiation, from June 1728 to June 1730, drawn up by Mr. Robinson, the minister at Vienna, in the Grantham papers.



## CHAPTER THE THIRTY-FOURTH :

1727—1729.

*Debates in Parliament on a supposed Promise of George the First to restore Gibraltar to Spain.—Mistakes generally entertained on that Subject.—True State of Facts.—Conduct of the Regent.—Of the King and Queen of Spain, and its Consequences.*

Period IV.  
1727 to 1730.

Parliamentary  
proceedings re-  
sp. King  
Gibraltar.

IN the midst of these transactions, an outcry was raised against administration, for having degraded the king, and disgraced the nation, by breaking a promise made to Philip the Fifth, for the restitution of Gibraltar, which, it was urged, had induced that monarch to accede to the quadruple alliance; and therefore the war was unjust on the part of England, because he only claimed his right in virtue of that promise, and offered to commence a negotiation for peace, when it was fulfilled. To these assertions Walpole replied, that the promise having been given when he was not in administration, he was in no respect answerable for it; but that if it had ever been made, he durst aver, that it was conditional, and rendered void by the refusal of Spain to comply with the terms on which it was founded, and that whenever the performance of that agreement was mentioned to him, he always maintained that Gibraltar should not be granted without the consent of parliament \*. When Sandys moved,

“ for

\* Chandler.

“ for addressing the king to communicate to this house, copies of the declaration, letter, or engagement, on which the king of Spain founded his peremptory demand for the restitution of that fortress,” he was seconded, and strenuously supported by Sir William Wyndham, Hungerford, and Pulteney, who took notice of a letter written in 1721, to one of the Emperor’s plenipotentiaries at Cambray, wherein a promise of ceding Gibraltar was expressly mentioned; they were opposed by Henry Pelham, Brodrick, Horace Walpole, and Sir Robert Walpole, who said, that the communication of the declaration or letter was altogether impracticable and unprecedented; the private letters of princes being almost as sacred as their very persons\*.

But although this remark at that time imposed a respectful silence on the house of commons, yet the question was again revived in the upper house, and the letter being produced, some of the lords in opposition moved the resolution, “ That effectual care be taken, in the treaty then in agitation, that the king of Spain do renounce all claims and pretensions to Gibraltar and Minorca, in plain and strong terms.” But the motion being overruled, another was carried, “ That the house relies upon the king for preserving the undoubted right to Gibraltar and Minorca.” This resolution being sent down to the commons, lord Malpas proposed and carried an address for a copy of the letter to the king of Spain; which  
being

March 18  
1727.

March 21.  
February 1.

\* Chandler, vol. 6. p. 384.

Period IV. 1727 to 1730. being laid before the house, a warm debate ensued. Many severe reflections were levelled at those who advised the king to write such a letter, as implied, or at least was considered by the Spaniards as signifying a positive promise of giving up Gibraltar, and was therefore the principal occasion of the king of Spain's resentment, and of the difficulties in promoting a pacification. To these insinuations, Walpole replied as on the former occasion, and added, that the letter did not contain any positive promise; and that effectual care had been taken in the present negotiation to secure the possession of Gibraltar. But the party in opposition declaring themselves dissatisfied with this explanation and answer, moved an addition to the resolution of the lords, that all pretensions on the part of Spain to Gibraltar and Minorca, should be specifically given up; but the question being negatived by a large majority of 156 voices, the resolution of the lords was carried without a division. Thus ended this business in parliament, which had created so much ill-will, occasioned so many false reports at the time, and which has since been misrepresented by those who inculcate the minister for breaking a promise which he never made, and for violating the national honour, when, in fact, he defended and supported it.

Errors of historians.

Although the business was thus concluded in parliament, yet the assertions of the minister did not satisfy opposition, and as the affair was again renewed in the *Craftsman*, and other periodical publications,



publications, with increased rancour and exaggerated invective, to which Walpole never condescended to make any reply, these invectives have been adopted by subsequent historians with no less asperity, and have been considered as authentic facts. Nor is this misrepresentation confined to the authors of this country: Many of the French writers are totally mistaken in the account of this negotiation, in asserting, that George the First promised unconditionally to restore Gibraltar.

Thus, particularly, Anquetil presumes, that in the peace which Spain concluded with France and England in 1720, there was a secret article by which the *king of England promised to restore Gibraltar to Spain*; and he grounds this presumption, not unfairly, on the two following passages from the Memoirs of Villars. March 10, 1727: The pope's nuncio at Madrid, wrote to the nuncio in France, that the king of Spain offered to agree to the suspension of the trade from Ostend, and at the same time demanded Gibraltar, *insisting that the restitution of it had been promised by the king of England*. November 2, 1727: Count Rothembourg, the French ambassador at Madrid, relates, that the queen of Spain complained of the English, and speaking of Gibraltar, took out an original letter from the king's cabinet, *in which George the First promised the restitution of Gibraltar* \*. As therefore the accounts given of this transaction

\* Vol. 2. p. 411. See also Belsham's History, vol. 1. p. 251.

Period IV. 1727 to 1730. transaction are in general erroneous, and as the inquiry itself is not uninteresting, I shall state a narrative of the negotiations relative to the restitution of Gibraltar, drawn from authentic documents.

Correct statement of the fact.

In 1715, George the First, for the purpose of avoiding a rupture with Spain, gave full powers to the regent, duke of Orleans, to offer the restoration of Gibraltar; the hostilities which followed, annulled the promise, and afterwards the king of Spain acceded purely and simply to the quadruple alliance, without stipulating the cession. The regent, however, with a view to ingratiate himself with the king of Spain, and to promote the double marriage between the two infants and his two daughters, repeatedly renewed the offer in the name of George the First, and inspired Philip with the most sanguine hopes of recovering so important a fortress. These expectations being urged by Philip with great warmth, and with little discretion, obliged the king to declare that he did not consider himself as bound by his former conditional promise. The regent being reproached by the queen of Spain with a breach of his word, dispatched the count de Saneterre to England, to represent the danger and delicacy of his situation. He declared, that he considered the king's promise as full and positive, and that he would as soon consent to his utter ruin, as to the dishonour of failing in so public an engagement. These strong expressions from the regent, who had proved himself so faithful an ally, and whose assistance in dis-

covering

covering and counteracting the schemes of the Jacobites was so necessary, perplexed the king, and induced him to use his utmost endeavours to gratify him and the king of Spain, with this view, earl Stanhope sounded the disposition of the upper house, by insinuating an intention to obtain a bill, empowering the king to dispose of Gibraltar, for the advantage of the nation. But this hint produced a violent ferment. The public were roused with indignation on the simple suspicion, that at the close of a successful war, unjustly begun by Spain, so important a fortress should be ceded. General murmurs were at the same time excited by a report industriously circulated by opposition, that the king had entered into a positive engagement for that purpose; virulent pamphlets were published to alarm the people, and to persuade them rather to continue the war, than to give up Gibraltar. The ministers were compelled to yield to the torrent, and to adopt the prudent resolution of waving the motion, lest it should produce a contrary effect, by a bill, which might for ever tie \* up the king's hands. The interference of France in this affair, and the extreme eagerness to obtain the restitution, was of great detriment. The alarm was indeed so strong, that suspicions were entertained that the regent was meditating the desertion of the alliance with England, and made Gibraltar a pretext to justify a change of system.

These

\* Earl Stanhope to Sir Luke Schaub, Paris, March 28, 1720. Hardwicke Papers.



Period IV. 1727 to 1730. These apprehensions induced the king to send earl Stanhope to Paris, with a view of representing the true situation of affairs, and to state the unpopularity of the measure, and the impracticability of carrying it against the general sense of the people. The letter which Stanhope conveyed from the king to the regent on this occasion, was firm, discreet, and satisfactory. He acknowledged that he had made the offer of ceding Gibraltar, solely with a view of preventing the rupture, and that Spain might have obtained it, had she then acceded to the proposed conditions. But it was now too late to revive the demand, as the king of Spain had proved himself the aggressor. It never could be understood that a voluntary offer of this nature, to prevent a war, was binding as a preliminary of peace. He concluded by observing, that he had never given his consent, since the rupture, to the renewal of the offer, and had received no communication from the regent of any intention to bring it forward \*. The duke of Orleans was fully satisfied with this representation. He owned, that although he could not avoid continuing to press for the restitution which he had so solemnly promised in the king's name, yet that he would employ every indirect means in his power, to prevent its being indiscreetly and improperly urged, and testified his resolution to make a separate peace with Spain.

Equivalent  
proposed.

The king, however, being still inclined to gratify the regent, if he could do it without disobligh-  
ing

\* The king to the duke of Orleans. Walpole Papers.

ing his subjects, referred the object of dispute to the congress at Cambray, hoping that in the course of negotiations, the Spanish plenipotentiaries might urge such motives and arguments in its favour, as would influence the parliament and people \*. Under the same impressions, he made another effort. By his order, earl Stanhope wrote to secretary Craggs, to lay before the lords justices the advantages which would result from ceding Gibraltar for Florida, or the eastern part of St. Domingo, and for certain commercial advantages. This proposal being laid before the council, lord Townshend at first warmly opposed, but finally agreed, if a suitable equivalent, particularly Florida, could be obtained. Accordingly, the cession seemed ultimately determined, if it met with the approbation of parliament. But the obstinacy of the king of Spain, rendered this proposal ineffectual. He declined yielding Florida in exchange, and insisted on Gibraltar without giving any equivalent †. This claim on his part was so warmly and repeatedly insisted on, as the indispensable requisite for acceding to the terms of pacification, that it was deemed a prudent art of policy not to retard the conclusion of peace, by a positive denial. Philip having requested, as an ostensible vindication of the peace, which was reprobated in Spain as highly

Chapter 34.

1127 to 1729.

October 1,  
1720.Rejected by  
the king of  
Spain.

\* Sir Luke Schaub to Grimaldo, Madrid, June 17, 1720. Hardwicke Papers.

† Secretary Craggs to earl Stanhope, August 2 and 26, 1720. Stanhope Papers. Earl Stanhope to secretary Craggs, Hanover, October 1, 1720. Hardwicke Papers.

Period IV. highly dishonourable, a letter conveying a promise  
 1727 to 1730. of restoring Gibraltar, George the First complied,  
 and expressed himself with great discretion on this  
 delicate subject. "I no longer balance (he ob-  
 served) to assure your majesty of my readiness to  
 satisfy you with regard to your demand, touching  
 the restitution of Gibraltar, *upon the footing of an  
 equivalent*, promising you to make use of the first  
 favourable opportunity to regulate this article,  
 with consent of my parliament." When the Bri-  
 tish minister delivered this letter, both the king  
 and queen of Spain made so many objections, par-  
 ticularly to the word equivalent, that at his sug-  
 gession the king consented to write another letter,  
 in which those words were omitted, under the full  
 conviction that the letter, even in that mutilated  
 state, left the affair entirely to the parliament, who  
 might refuse to part with Gibraltar upon any  
 terms; or if they agreed to the cession, might  
 equally insist upon an equivalent \*.

Haughty and  
 unreasonable  
 conduct of  
 the king of  
 Spain.

This was the memorable letter †, which was  
 the cause of so much obloquy. Philip considered  
 it as a positive promise, and his minister insisted  
 upon a pure and simple restitution, without any  
 equivalent. The king of England, on the con-  
 trary, asserted that the cession must solely depend  
 on the consent of parliament, which would not  
 be

\* Dispatch from William Stanhope to lord Carteret, Aranjuez, May 29, 1721. Hardwicke Papers.

† This letter is printed in the Journals of the lords and commons, in the Political State of Europe, Historical Register, Chandler, and Tindal, with an omission of the words marked in Italics.



be easily obtained. In the midst of these claims on one side, and counter declarations on the other, which agitated the plenipotentiaries during two years, the dissolution of the marriage between Louis the Fifteenth and the Infanta, occasioned the rupture between France and Spain. Philip broke up the congress at Cambray without having agreed to the preliminaries, and the question of Gibraltar remained undecided. After ineffectually endeavouring to detach England from France, and whilst he was secretly preparing for a reconciliation with the house of Austria, he renewed his claims, and accompanied them with bitter reproaches.

In the midst of these altercations, Ripperda, having publicly declared at Vienna that England would be compelled to restore Gibraltar, colonel Stanhope was commanded to obtain an immediate acknowledgment from Madrid, whether this declaration of Ripperda was made by order, or simply on his own authority\*. The king of Spain, and his first minister Grimaldo, both replied, that Ripperda had surpassed his orders, in saying that a rupture with England would ensue, unless Gibraltar was restored; and Stanhope was desired to acquaint his court with this declaration. Stanhope prepared his dispatch, and the courier was on the point of taking his departure, when he received a letter from Grimaldo, informing him that the continuation of the friendship and

com-

\* Letter from colonel Stanhope to lord Townshend, July 14, 1725.

Period IV. 1727 to 1730. commerce between England and Spain, would depend on the speedy compliance with this demand. On inquiry, he found that the cause of this sudden change in opinion, proceeded from the news just brought of the ratification of the treaty of Vienna. In fact, both the king and queen of Spain were so little acquainted with the constitution and temper of the English nation, that they insisted on an *immediate* restitution of Gibraltar as the only means of avoiding a rupture. Against this extraordinary demand, Stanhope remonstrated in an audience with the king and queen of Spain; he declared, that they insisted upon an impossibility, since what they required could not be effected without consent of parliament; whereas there was then no parliament assembled, nor could possibly be assembled, before the king's return to England in the spring. "No!" said the queen, "Let then the king your master return presently into England, and call a parliament expressly for this purpose, it being no more than what we might expect from his friendship for us; and I am assuredly and positively informed, that the matter once fairly proposed, would not meet with one negative in either house; let this short argument be once made use of: either give up Gibraltar, or your trade to the Indies and Spain; and the matter, I will answer for it, won't admit of a moment's debate \*."

The

\* Letter from W. Stanhope to lord Townshend, August 6, 1725: Stanhope and Harrington Papers.

The consequence of this insolent and peremptory demand being a refusal on the part of England, Philip commenced the siege of Gibraltar, and alledged as an excuse for the aggression, the breach of promise on the side of George the First. When the desertion of the Emperor compelled him to accept the preliminaries of peace, he clogged the negotiation by renewing his claims on Gibraltar, and furnished the opposition in England with matter of reproach to the minister, who justified himself in parliament. The object of Philip was to bring the dispute before the congress of Soissons; that of the English plenipotentiaries was to prevent it. The prudent manner in which they succeeded in that design, does honour to their diplomatic abilities; and the treaty of Seville was, as I have already observed, concluded without any stipulation or mention of Gibraltar.

Chapter 34.  
1727 to 1729.  
Its consequences.



## CHAPTER THE THIRTY-FIFTH:

1728.

*Rise, Disgrace, Imprisonment, Escape, and Arrival of Ripperda in England.—Reception and Conferences with the Ministers.—Dissatisfaction and Departure.—Enters into the Service of the Emperor of Morocco.*

Ripperda in  
England.

THE arrival of the duke of Ripperda in England, his clandestine reception, and temporary concealment under the protection of Townshend and Walpole, form a remarkable event in this year. The papers committed to my inspection, contain several curious particulars of this extraordinary man, who negotiated the treaty of Vienna, and who afterwards betrayed the secret articles to the court of London.

Memoirs of  
Ripperda.

William, baron and duke of Ripperda, was descended from a noble family in the lordship of Groningen, one of the United Provinces; he received a learned education, and acquired an intimate knowledge of the French, Spanish, and Latin languages. He served as colonel during the war of the Spanish succession. In the midst of his military occupations, he applied himself with indefatigable industry to the study of trade and manufactures; and being no less distinguished for his insinuating address, was deputed, soon after the peace of Utrecht, envoy to Madrid, for the purpose of settling the commercial disputes between

Envoy to  
Madrid.  
1715.

between Spain and the Dutch republic. While he was labouring to adjust that difficult business, he contributed to promote the conclusion of a commercial treaty between Spain and England, for which service Townshend commends his good offices in terms of high approbation \*.

Chapter 35.  
1728.

During his residence at Madrid, his ardent imagination, consummate address, and extreme facility in writing dispatches and drawing memorials in various languages, recommended him to cardinal Alberoni, who employed him in affairs of a most secret and delicate nature. The services which he performed, and the grateful acknowledgments of the minister, inspired him with the most sanguine expectation of obtaining a splendid situation in a country where, since the accession of a foreign king, aliens had been frequently promoted to the highest offices of government; and as Alberoni alledged as an excuse that he could not be promoted on account of his religion, he made a public abjuration, and was admitted into the Roman Catholic church. He was then appointed superintendant of a cloth manufactory, recently established, by his own suggestion, at Guadalaxara, and received the grant of a pension and an estate. During this period of his life, he was pensioned by the Emperor, and seems to have received occasional presents from the English court. He was so unprincipled, that he had even the assurance to call upon the envoy Bubb, afterwards Dodington, for 14,000 pistoles, in the name

Noticed by  
Alberoni.

Changes his  
religion, and  
settles in  
Spain.

\* Townshend Papers.

Period IV. 1727 to 1730. name of cardinal Alberoni, which he appropriated to his own use\*, and this transaction probably contributed to his removal. Having brought the manufactory to a high degree of improvement, and enjoying frequent opportunities of conversing with the king and queen, he excited the jealousy of Alberoni, and was removed from the superintendance. Ripperda, however, dissembled his resentment, while he still continued in public on terms of amity with the prime minister, secretly represented to Daubenton and Grimaldo, who were disgusted with Alberoni, many errors and instances of mal-administration, which the confessor laid before the king, and persuaded him to consult Grimaldo, through the channel of the postmaster-general.

In the course of the difficult and complicated transactions in which Spain was involved with the Emperor, France, and England, the opinion of Ripperda was also demanded. He accordingly drew up a report, in which he declared, that the king could never succeed in his designs against the Emperor, unless he could obstruct the operations of England. With this view, he recommended that the troops destined to invade Sicily, should be landed, with great stores of arms and ammunition, on the coasts of Scotland or Ireland, to assist in replacing the Pretender on the throne. If that event should take place, the prince would in gratitude restore Gibraltar, Minorca, Jamaica, and all the American settlements

\* Stauhope's Dispatches. Harrington Papers.



ments wrested from Spain by the English, and the Italian provinces would be easily recovered. This advice, though rejected by the influence of Alberoni, who persevered in the reduction of Sicily, made a deep impression on the king's mind, and gave him a favourable opinion of Ripperda's genius and spirit, which was increased, when the repeated predictions of Ripperda, that the rash and ill-concerted measures of Alberoni would fail, were verified by the event. The disgrace of the cardinal being the consequence of his ill-success, the superintendancy of the manufactures at Guadalaxara was restored to Ripperda, and his influence over the king and queen was promoted by the strong recommendations which the duchess of Parma, at the suggestions of the Imperial court, made in his favour, to her daughter the queen of Spain, and by the orders given to marquis Scotti, the minister of Parma at Madrid, to serve as a channel of communication between him and the queen. Hence Ripperda obtained private audiences of the king and queen of Spain, in which he laid down plans for the improvement of trade, and the increase of the marine; flattered the queen with promoting the aggrandisement of her family, and still more ingratiated himself in her favour, by proposing the marriage of Don Carlos with an archduchess.

Depending on her protection, he aimed at the ministry of state, of the marine and the Indies; he had even disposed the king to remove the ministers, when Scotti betrayed the secret to Daubenton

His ambitious  
views.

Period IV. 1727 to 1730. benton and Grimaldo. Daubenton prevented the immediate appointment of Ripperda, by representing the danger and impropriety of entrusting the administration to a new convert; and when the death of Daubenton, and the offer of a cardinal's hat to the new confessor, father Bermudas, seemed likely to facilitate his elevation, his expectations were annihilated by the abdication of Philip. During the short reign of Louis, the queen maintained a private correspondence with Ripperda, and followed his advice, in sending large sums of money and her jewels to Parma.

Mission to the  
Emperor.

Soon after Philip's resumption of the crown. when the cabinet of Madrid formed a project of reconciliation with the Emperor, Ripperda was selected as the fittest person to carry that delicate negotiation into execution. He was accordingly deputed to Vienna, with secret instructions to make a peace with the Emperor, to conclude a marriage between Don Ferdinand and the second archduchess, and to secure, on the death of the Emperor without issue male, the Italian provinces and the Netherlands to Spain, and the reversion of Tuscany and Parma to Don Carlos. Before his departure, he delivered in a project for preparing a fleet 100 ships, an army of 100,000 infantry, and 30,000 horse. The expences he proposed to discharge from the revenues of the Indies alone, by new modelling the trade to the settlements, and securing the profits, which were almost totally absorbed by the English and French nations, and the Spanish ministers. He also undertook

dertook to save an annual sum of 10,000,000 crowns; and obtained from the king a promise, that on his return from Vienna, he should be appointed prime minister to carry his project into execution.

Chapter 35.

1728.

Ripperda performed the object of his mission with great address. He departed from Spain in the latter end of October, and arrived at Vienna in November, where he resided in the suburbs, under the fictitious name of the baron of Pfaffenberg. It does not appear that the English court had any notice of his arrival from St. Saphorin, their agent at Vienna, before the 18th of February; when he received intelligence from Petkum, minister of the duke of Holstein, that a Dutchman, the description of whose person answered to that of Ripperda, held long and secret conferences with count Zinzendorf by night. This man was soon discovered to be Ripperda; but all the information which St. Saphorin could procure concerning the object of his mission, amounted to no more than a conjecture, that a marriage between an archduchess and an infant of Spain, was the subject of their conferences; but whether with the prince of Asturias or Don Carlos, was a matter of which he was wholly ignorant.

Concludes the treaty of Vienna.

Ripperda was anxious to finish his mission, that he might return to Spain, and obtain those honours which awaited him; but with a view to render the queen of Spain more tractable, he changed his instructions, and proposed that the

eldest



Period IV. 1727 to 1730. eldest archduchess should be given to her son, Don Carlos, and that Mademoiselle de Beaujois, who had been affianced to him, should be transferred to the prince of Asturias. The queen instantly approved and promoted a plan so congenial to her wishes, by which the imperial dignity, and the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria, would devolve on her issue. Having thus secured the queen, he gained the court of Vienna, by affirming, that if he was placed at the helm of government in Spain, a saving would be made of 50,000,000 crowns, out of which five or six millions should be annually remitted to Vienna. He accordingly received a verbal, if not a written promise, from count Zinzendorf, in the name of the Emperor, that the eldest archduchess should be affianced to Don Carlos.

While this business was in agitation, the dissolution of the marriage between the infanta and Louis the Fifteenth, and the refusal of England to accept the sole meditation, excited the resentment of the king and queen of Spain to such a degree, that instant orders were transmitted to Vienna, for concluding a treaty on any terms. Ripperda found no difficulty from the Emperor.

Under these auspices, Ripperda concluded the treaty of Vienna; the news of which, on reaching Madrid, inspired the king and queen with the most extravagant joy, and the populace, delighted at their deliverance from French interference, shouted, "Long live the august house  
of

of Austria\*." Count Konigseck, deputed ambassador to Madrid, was received with the most flattering marks of esteem and consideration, and soon acquired such an ascendancy, that he wholly governed the counsels of Spain.

The secrecy with which the whole negotiation was conducted, was so well maintained, that the contents of the treaty, which was signed on the 21st of May, were scarcely suspected, until they were hinted at by the Emperor himself, who could not contain his joy on the occasion, and then divulged by the Imperial ministers, with a view to insult and intimidate the cabinet of England. The veil of secrecy being now removed, Ripperda came forth in the public character of ambassador from Spain. The splendour of his household, the liberality of his donations, and the punctuality of his payments, attracted esteem and secured popularity. He at the same time displayed the natural warmth and presumption of his temper. He poured forth, in public companies, the most bitter invectives against England, and made repeated declarations, that a refusal to give up Gibraltar, or to guaranty the engagements recently concerted between the two contracting powers, would be followed by an immediate attempt to assist the Pretender.

Ripperda quitted Vienna in the beginning of November. He passed through Italy, and taking  
1725.  
Returns to  
Spain.

\* Count Staremberg to the Emperor, June 3, 1725. Harrington Papers.

Period IV. 1727 to 1730. ing ship at Genoa, disembarked at Barcelona. On landing there, he gave to the officers of the garrison, who crowded to pay their respects, an ample account of the transactions at Vienna, declaring that the Emperor had 150,000 troops ready to march at an hour's \* warning, and that as many more could be brought into the field in six months. He spoke contemptuously of France, threatened the Hanoverian allies, if they should presume to oppose the designs of the Emperor and Philip; declared that France should be pillaged, that the king of Prussia would be crushed in one campaign, and that George the First would be deprived of his German territories by the Emperor, and of his British dominions by the Pretender. At the conclusion of these rodomontades, he continued his journey without delay, and rode post to Madrid, where he arrived on the 11th of December, in the afternoon; after a short interview with his wife, he repaired to the palace without changing his dress, and went to the antichamber. Applying to the lord in waiting for admission, he was informed that Grimaldo, the secretary of state, was with the king and queen of Spain, and that he could not be immediately admitted. He expressed, in terms of derision, his impatience and surprise that Grimaldo continued so long, and on his coming out took no notice of him, but desired the lord in waiting to announce his arrival.

He

\* W. Stanhope to lord Townshend, December 27.



He was instantly admitted, and received with the highest marks of kindness and satisfaction \*. The conference was long; and on the following day he was nominated minister and secretary of state, in the room of Grimaldo; all the other ministers, councils, and foreign ambassadors were ordered to transact business with him; and without the name of prime minister, he was invested with the same uncontrouled authority as had been enjoyed by Alberoni. But he possessed more turbulence, self-sufficiency, and haughtiness than the cardinal; without his address, resources, and incorruptible integrity, and the British ambassador, who knew his character well, observed, that without the spirit of prophecy, "One might foresee ten Alberonis in this Ripperda, as Scylla did ten Mariuses in Julius Cæsar."

It soon appeared that Ripperda possessed neither address or abilities sufficient to carry his gigantic schemes into execution; and the king, irritated by the disappointment of his sanguine hopes, and angry at having been the dupe of this superficial pretender, repeatedly told the queen, that Ripperda was a madman, and must be removed. His disgrace.

Sworn with vanity and presumption, he seemed, however, to defy all opposition. "I know," he said, "that the Spanish ministers and nation are irritated against me, but I laugh at their attempts. The queen, to whom I have rendered the most essential services, will protect me." And another time

\* Memoires de Montgon, tome i. p. 207, 208.

Period IV. time he exclaimed at a public levee, that he was  
 1727 to 1730 shielded by six friends who would defend him  
 against all intrigues, God, the Blessed Virgin, the emperor and empress, the king and queen of Spain \*. But although Ripperda owed his elevation to the union he had formed between the courts of Vienna and Madrid, and appears, from this expression, to have perfectly understood, that his continuance in power could only be secured by supporting that system; yet such was his caprice or vanity, that soon after his establishment, he began to deviate from the line of conduct by which he had attained it. He relaxed in his attentions to count Konigseck, the imperial ambassador, and was suspected of endeavouring to form an union with those of Great Britain and Holland. This conduct rendered Konigseck his enemy; the incapacity of the minister became daily more apparent, and his vain-glorious boasting, produced nothing but the contempt and derision of the statesmen of every nation.

Under these circumstances, Don Joseph and Louis de Patinho, secured the protection of the queen, by the private recommendation of her confessor, Don Domingo da Guerra, who represented them as persons highly qualified to direct the helm of government, and well inclined to support the plans of Ripperda as far as they related to the aggrandisement of Don Carlos. They also gained the interest of count Konigseck by offers of supplying

\* Memoires de Montgon, tome i. p. 210.

plying the imperial court with the promised subsidies. Both the queen and Konigseck now suffered the king's resentment against Ripperda to break out; they no longer counteracted the cabals of the Spanish ministers, nor concealed the clamours of the nation against an upstart, a convert, and a foreigner.

Ripperda at length perceiving that he was detested by the people, thwarted by the Spanish ministers, opposed by Konigseck, despised by the king, and declining in the favour of the queen, paid great court to the British and Dutch ambassadors, and made the most humble professions of respect and duty to the king of England. In the midst of these continued apprehensions and alarms, he was dismissed from the superintendence of the finances, under the pretence of delivering him from part of the burthen of government. Foreseeing that this would be speedily followed by the loss of all his employments, he requested the king's permission to retire from his service; but his demand was not complied with, and he continued to transact business till the 14th of May, when he received a letter from the marquis de la Paz, that the king accepted his resignation, and conferred on him a pension of 3,000 pistoles. The general satisfaction which this event diffused, and the tumultuous acclamations of the populace, who assembled in large bodies before his house, filled him with apprehensions of being massacred; and after writing a submissive letter to the king, he took re-



Period IV. 1727 to 1730. fuge in the hotel of the British embassador, who was with the court at Aranjuez.

On his return to Madrid, the evening of the 15th, Stanhope had a difficult part to act. It was of the greatest importance to obtain from Ripperda a communication of the secrets of the Spanish cabinet, and particularly an account of the negotiations which had recently taken place, and were then transacting between the courts of Vienna and Madrid, and yet be careful not to offend the king of Spain, by appearing to countenance a discarded minister, in opposition to the will of the sovereign in whose court he resided. The caution and prudence with which he conducted himself on this delicate occasion, reflects honour on his judgment, and contributed greatly to his future elevation. He contrived to give protection to the ex-minister, and to detain him in his house, until he had extorted from him all the secrets which he was willing or able to communicate.

Ripperda now betrayed to him the secret articles of the treaty of Vienna, and probably exaggerated the designs of the Emperor and the king of Spain, with a view to ingratiate himself with the king of England, and to exasperate the nation against those two monarchs who had occasioned his disgrace. He, who in the height of his power was so giddy and presumptuous, was now become so abject, that his whole frame shook with agitation, he appeared to be in the greatest agonies, and wept like a child.

For

For the purpose of conveying the intelligence communicated by Ripperda, which was of too much importance to be sent by the post, or even to be entrusted in a dispatch by a common courier, Keene, then consul general, afterwards ambassador in Spain, was dispatched to England. After communicating in person, the secret with which he was entrusted to the duke of Newcastle and the other ministers of state, he drew up, by order of the king, a letter to the duke of Newcastle, containing the substance of Ripperda's conversation, which is inserted in the correspondence \*.

After a negotiation of a few days, which passed between the Spanish court and the British ambassador, Ripperda was taken by force from his house, and transferred to the castle of Segovia, from whence he made his escape, after a confinement of fifteen months.

Imprisoned  
in the castle of  
Segovia.

The governor of the castle and his wife, being both infirm, could not pay constant attention to their prisoners, and the servant maid †, being seduced by the duke, contrived his escape, and effected it with the assistance of a corporal, who was one of the guards; while his faithful valet, with unexampled attachment, remained in his apartment, and for some time prevented intrusion, by declaring

His escape.

\* See Period IV. Article Ripperda.

† Campbell, in his Memoirs of the duke of Ripperda, has converted the servant maid into the daughter of a Castilian nobleman, and the antiquated wife of the governor, into a sprightly and beautiful young woman.

Period IV. 1727 to 1730. declaring that his master was indisposed \*. The duke had just recovered from a severe fit of the gout, and not without the greatest difficulty descended the ladder of ropes which was let down from the window of his apartment, and repaired to the place where a mule and a guide waited for him. Unable to continue riding he gave his mule to the guide, and hired a carriage, but proceeded so slowly that he employed five days in travelling to a small village on the frontiers of Portugal, where he remained until he was joined by his two confidants. With them he arrived at Miranda de Duero, the first town in Portugal, and from thence continued to Oporto, where he embarked for England, on board the *Charity*, under the name of Don Manuel de Mendosa †.

Arrives in  
England.

The vessel was forced by contrary winds into Corke, and in the beginning of October, he landed at Comb-martin, in Devonshire, with the young woman, the corporal, and a servant, and passed a few days at Exeter. Townshend and Walpole, apprised of his arrival and departure from Exeter, dispatched Corbiere, under secretary of state, to meet him on the western road, who conveyed him in a coach and four to Eton, where he was lodged incognito, in an apartment belonging to Dr. Bland, dean of Durham, and head master of the school. There he was met by Townshend, who received him with the greatest marks of attention,

\* See letter from Keene to the duke of Newcastle, giving an account of Ripperda's escape.—Correspondence, Article Ripperda.

† *Memoires de Montgon*. Political State of Great Britain.



tention, with a view to obtain from him fuller and more accurate information concerning the secret articles of the treaty of Vienna. After a residence of a few days at Eton, he departed with the same secrecy to London, where he arrived on the 13th. After continuing for some time incognito, he took a large house in Soho square, and a villa, and lived in a magnificent style. During his residence in England, he maintained an occasional correspondence with Walpole, and having made a rapid proficiency in the English language, conceived the chimerical hope of filling some high department in administration. While the differences with Spain were under discussion, and a possibility of a rupture with that country continued, the ministers kept up an amicable intercourse with Ripperda, which probably fed his delusion, and inflamed his ambition. But when the conclusion of the treaty of Seville, contrary to his views and remonstrances, rendered his information no longer useful, he felt the pain of disappointed self-importance, and in the year 1731, withdrew in disgust to Holland.

Animated by a spirit of vengeance against Spain, which he could not satisfy among the powers of Europe, he embarked for Barbary, at the instigation of the ambassador from Morocco, entered into the service of the emperor Muley Abdallah, embraced the Mahometan religion, was created a bashaw, obtained the command of the army and the office of prime minister; and gained the entire confidence of the emperor. After several successes

Adventures  
in Morocco.

Period IV. cesses over the Spaniards, and defeating a competitor for the throne of Morocco, in which he gave  
 1727 to 1730. signs of great courage and skill, he was worsted near Ceuta, and preserved his life, by resigning his command. He deserted Muley Abdallah, when dethroned by Muley Ali, and finally retired to Tetuan, where he lived under the protection of the bashaw, and died in 1737, at a very advanced age\*.

Death.

Cawthorn, in his poem on the Vanity of Human Enjoyments, has well delineated the capricious and motley character of Ripperda.

O pause, lest virtue every guard resign,  
 And the sad fate of Ripperda be thine.  
 This glorious wretch indulged at once to move  
 A nation's wonder and a monarch's love;  
 Blest with each charm politer courts admire,  
 The grace to soften, and the soul to fire,  
 Forsook his native bogs with proud disdain,  
 And, though a Dutchman, rose the pride of Spain.  
 'Tis hour the pageant waves the Imperial rod,  
 All Philip's empire trembling at his nod;  
 The next disgrac'd, he flies to Britain's isle,  
 And courts the sunshine of a Walpole's smile.  
 Unheard, despised, to southern climes he steers,  
 And shines again at Sallé and Algiers;  
 Bids pale Morocco all his schemes adore,  
 And pours her thunder on th' Hesperian shore:  
 All nature's ties, all virtue's creeds belied,  
 Each church abandon'd, and each God denied;  
 Without a friend his sepulchre to shield,  
 His carcase from the vultures of the field,  
 He dies, of all ambition's sons the worst,  
 By Afric hated, and by Europe curst.

\* This account of Ripperda is principally drawn from the dispatches of St. Saphorin at Vienna, of William Stanhope at Madrid, and from "An Account of Ripperda," by two Sicilian abbots, in the Walpole Papers.

## CHAPTER THE THIRTY-SIXTH:

1730.

*Sanguine Hopes of Opposition that Walpole would be removed.—Their Efforts in Parliament.—Debates on the Imperial Loan—on the Pension Bill—on Dunkirk—and the Renewal of the East India Company's Charter.—Arrangement of the Ministry on the Resignation of Lord Townshend.—Characters of the Duke of Newcastle and Lord Harrington.*

ALTHOUGH the Tories had hitherto joined the Coalition of the Tories and discontented Whigs. the discontented Whigs in their attacks against the minister, yet their coalition had never been hearty and sincere. They formed a separate body; and as they did not amount to less than one hundred and ten members, they considered themselves, both from their superior numbers and weight as country gentlemen, entitled rather to give than receive an impulse from the other parts of the minority. They did not therefore chuse to pay that regular attendance in parliament, which a constant and uniform warfare required from all those who, however differing in many points, were united in that of distressing the minister. But in the session which opened in 1730, a regular and systematic plan was formed by Bolingbroke, and carried into execution by means of his address and activity. His connection with Pulteney, as the joint manager of the Craftsman, gave him an influence over the Whigs; and his intimacy with Sir William Wyndham, secured to him the acquiescence



Period IV. 1727 to 1730. quiescence of the Tories. He had persuaded the whole body, that notwithstanding the signature of the convention at Pardo, a peace with Spain still met with insuperable difficulties. That Philip had not relinquished his demand of Gibraltar; that the Spanish depredations would still continue to be committed with impunity; that the British commerce with Spain would either be suspended or annihilated. Measures were therefore concerted to call the ministers to account for their supineness and pusillanimity. The clamours thus excited, extremely popular in a nation jealous of its honour, and anxious to secure its commercial advantages, occasioned great discontents, as well amongst the friends as the enemies of the minister.

Conduct of  
Bolingbroke.

Although the conclusion of the treaty of Seville, which was highly favourable to the commercial interests of England, and honourable to her national glory, disconcerted opposition, and overset the schemes of Bolingbroke in this particular, yet he was too able not to form another plan of attack. Having made a coalition between the discordant parties in the minority, and appointed a general muster in parliament, he still continued to animate the mass with fresh spirit. His labours were now turned to sow discord among the Hanoverian allies, to avail himself of a growing misunderstanding which had recently appeared between England and France, to encourage the emperor to persist in his refusal to admit Spanish garrisons into Parma and Tuscany, and thus to counteract the execution of the treaty

of Seville. Under his auspices, and by his direction, the opposition brought forwards many questions calculated to harraßs government, and to render themselves popular. The expectations formed by the disaffected were highly sanguine; and a notion prevailed both at home and abroad\*, that the fall of the minister was unavoidable. Their hopes of success were founded on the disunion in the cabinet; on the supposed aversion of the king to Walpole, and on the disgust of those Whigs who adhered to Townshend.

Chapter 36.  
1730.

Hopes of  
opposition.

The first trial of their strength was made on the question concerning the Imperial loan. The Emperor, by the treaty of Seville, having been deprived of liberal remittances from Spain, attempted to borrow £.400,000 in London. A bill was accordingly presented to the commons for preventing loans to foreign powers, without licence from the king under his privy seal. Had the ministry permitted the loan, they would have been abundantly and deservedly reproached: Advocates, however, against the prohibition were not wanting. The hardships of all restraints, the disadvantage to us, and the advantage to the Dutch, were specious pretences. Walpole took an active share in combating the arguments of opposition, and the question was carried†. A sufficient justification of the measure was, that the want of money compelled the court of Vienna to submit to terms of accommodation.

June.  
Debate on the  
Imperial loan.

The

\* Secret intelligence from Paris. Walpole Papers.

† Journals.

Period IV.  
 1727 to 1730.  
 On the pension  
 bill.

February 16.

The most popular and plausible measure proposed by opposition was, the pension bill, which was now first introduced, and which from this period, became a never-failing topic of antiministerial attack, and of ministerial defence. Sandys moved for leave to bring in a bill to disable all persons from sitting in parliament, who had any pension, or any offices held in trust for them from the crown, directly or indirectly; and for the purpose of enforcing this exclusion, he proposed that every member, on taking his seat, should swear that he had not any pension, directly or indirectly, did not enjoy any gratuity or reward, or hold any office or place of trust; and that after having accepted the same, he would signify it to the house within fourteen days. Walpole, who knew the unpopularity of the arguments which could be urged against the bill, and appreciated the effect of those which would be brought in its favour, declined taking any active part against it, notwithstanding the express injunctions of the king\*, who called it a villanous bill, and the disgust of Townshend, who was unwilling that the odium of its rejection should be cast upon the house of lords. He does not seem to have spoken in the debate, or to have exerted his usual influence; for while most of the questions supported or opposed by government, were passed or thrown out by a majority of more than two to one, the bill was only carried by 144 against 134†. It

was

\* Note from the king to lord Townshend. Correspondence.

† Journals. Tindal.



was negatived by the house of lords after a long debate\*, and a protest entered by twenty-six peers. A similar fate attended it the next session; and during his whole administration, Sir Robert Walpole never made any strong opposition to it, but left it to be rejected by the upper house. It was now the generally received opinion, and not without foundation, that the minister suffered the pension bill to pass the house of commons, because he knew that it would be thrown out by the peers. Sandys therefore, in the subsequent session, brought forward a motion for appointing a committee, to inquire whether any members had, directly or indirectly, any pensions, or any offices from the crown held in trust for them, in part, or in the whole. Walpole ventured to oppose it; he called it a motion for erecting the house into a court of inquisition, and urged, that it justified the treatment which the bill had met with in the upper house. He declared that the act, if passed, could not answer the end for which it was proposed, unless the house should assume to itself a power unknown to the constitution, namely, a power of compelling every member that was suspected, to accuse himself, not of any thing criminal, for it could not be criminal to take either place or pension from the crown, and in consequence of that construction, to dispossess half the counties and boroughs in England of their representatives. The arguments and influence of the minister prevailed, and

Chapter 36.

1730.

March 3.

1730-1.

Period IV. and the bill was thrown out, by 206 against 143 \*.  
 1727 to 1730. Yet such was the unpopularity of the rejection,  
 that many members, suspected of having pensions  
 or places held in trust, voted for it, lest their op-  
 position might disoblige their constituents.

On the affair  
 of Dunkirk.

The stipulation to destroy the harbour of Dun-  
 kirk, made at the peace of Utrecht, and renewed  
 in the treaty with France of 1717, had never been  
 fully complied with. The French cabinet, always  
 anxious to retain the use of a harbour, which, in  
 case of a war with Great Britain, was situated so  
 advantageously for the annoyance of our trade,  
 continued clandestinely to prevent the demolition  
 of the works. Frequent remonstrances were made  
 by the English government, and promises extorted  
 from the French cabinet, that the treaty should  
 be carried into effect : but the inhabitants, either  
 by the suggestion or connivance of the French  
 government, kept the harbour and works in a state  
 of repair.

This was a subject which gave great uneasiness  
 to the minister, on which he frequently expatiated  
 in his letters to his brother, and even reproached  
 him for neglecting to enforce the demolition. It  
 was a point, however, of so much delicacy, that  
 cardinal Fleury, though he constantly avowed his  
 readiness to accede to the demands of the Bri-  
 tish minister, yet always eluded them, probably  
 not daring to irritate the people of France by the  
 enforcement of so disagreeable a command. The  
 delays on this subject afforded to opposition a  
 ground

ground for insinuating that the ministry were in connivance with the court of France, to sanction the repairs of that harbour. Bolingbroke was well aware that nothing would more exasperate the public mind, than the persuasion that the French were employed in the reparation of that harbour; and if that fact could be proved, that the suspicion of conniving at it would fall upon the ministry: he was no less convinced, that it would weaken the credit of the minister abroad, if he could prove that France did not fulfil its engagements, and that a misunderstanding had arisen between the two kingdoms. To obtain evidence in support of these points, he sent his secretary, Brinsden, to inspect the state of the works at Dunkirk.

On the imperfect and exaggerated report of this agent, was founded a motion for an address, that “the king should direct that all orders, instructions, reports, and proceedings, had in regard to the port and harbour of Dunkirk, since its demolition, be laid before the house.” The king having agreed to this address, the necessary documents were produced, which being read, and witnesses examined, Sir William Wyndham moved, that in what had been done relating to the harbour of Dunkirk, there was a manifest violation of the treaties between the two crowns. But before he was seconded, the other side made a motion for an address of thanks to the king, “for his attention to the interests of the nation, in causing a proper application to be made to the



Period IV. 1727 to 1730. court of France, not only for putting a stop to the works carrying on, but for demolishing such as had been made by the inhabitants of Dunkirk, for repairing the port and channel there; and to express their satisfaction in the good effects which his majesty's instances had had, by obtaining express orders from the most Christian king, for causing to be destroyed all the works that might have been erected at Dunkirk, contrary to the treaties of Utrecht and the Hague; and their reliance upon their being punctually executed; and further to declare their satisfaction in the firm union and mutual fidelity, which so happily subsisted, and were so strictly preserved between the two nations \*."

This unexpected motion, which prevented the discussion of that proposed by Sir William Wyndham, occasioned a long and warm debate, in which Walpole seems to have particularly distinguished himself. The great object of opposition was to draw over the Whigs, who usually supported government, and had lately wavered under the plausible notion that the conduct of the minister had been in this instance contradictory to the principles and interests of their party. The object of the minister was to prove to the Whigs, that their principles and interests were no ways affected by this controversy, and that it was simply a Tory question. With great art he introduced a personal application, and made a most vigorous attack

tack on Bolingbroke, who was particularly obnoxious to the Whigs, at whose instigation he insinuated this inquiry was made, and whose character and spirit of opposition he drew in the most unfavourable colours. Sir William Wyndham, provoked by the philippic against his friend, defended him with uncommon energy, and drew a comparison between him and Walpole, in which he attempted to shew that Bolingbroke was by no means inferior in honesty and integrity to the minister. This comparison called up Henry Pelham, who ably seconded the attack against Bolingbroke, and excited such a general indignation among the Whigs, that the address was carried by 274 against 149 \*. The loss of this question by so large a majority, which the opposition expected to have carried triumphantly, increased the popularity of the minister, and his credit abroad; and Horace Walpole, who took a considerably share in the debate, observes in a letter to Poyntz, this was the greatest day, both with respect to the thing itself, and the consequences, that had ever occurred within his memory, for the king and ministry, and must prove a thunder-bolt to their adversaries in England, as well as abroad, as it contradicted the assertions of opposition, that the king and the Whigs were dissatisfied with his brother's administration †.

Another object of great national interest, brought forward by opposition, was to prevent the renewal of the charter of the East India company.

\* See Journals.

† Horace Walpole to lord Harrington and Stephen Poyntz. March 2d, 1730. Correspondence.

Period IV. of the charter of the East India company, which  
1727 to 1730. was near its expiration, and to form another incorporated society without the exclusive privileges, which should grant licences, upon certain conditions, to all persons inclined to trade to the East Indies. The leading men in the minority, foreseeing that the company would apply to the legislature for the renewal of their charter, had secretly prevailed on many respectable merchants in the city to engage in the scheme. It had a popular tendency, from the general aversion which is always entertained against monopolies and exclusive privileges, by those who derive no immediate share from the emoluments; and was still farther recommended by the plausible pretence of easing the public burthens, by obtaining a large sum of money from the new incorporated society.

Having obtained information of their views, the minister laboured to counteract them. He was convinced that the trade could only be carried on by an exclusive company. The persons who were to form the new society, were wholly unacquainted with the secrets of the business, and unless the company could be induced to communicate information, and to part with its forts and settlements in the country, the trade might be reduced or annihilated. Having concerted his plan with a few of the directors, in whom he placed implicit confidence, and aware that the chief hopes of success conceived by opposition, were founded on the popular ground of obtaining  
sums



sums of money for the use of the public, he anticipated their views, by insinuating to the house, that a part of his ways and means would be derived from the East India company. This unexpected turn surprised the minority, and wholly disconcerted their plan before it was brought to maturity. They had however proceeded so far in opening private subscriptions, and making engagements, that they could not recede \*. A petition was therefore presented to the house by several merchants, traders, and others, offering to advance £.3,200,000 at five payments, before the 25th of May 1733, at an interest of 5 per cent. to redeem the fund and trade of the East India company, provided the lenders might be incorporated and vested with their whole trade, yet so as not to trade with their joint stock, or in a corporate capacity, but the trade be open to all his majesty's subjects, upon licence from such proposed new company, desiring the same, on proper terms and conditions; and provided the trade be exercised to and from the port of London only; and be subject to redemption at any time upon three years notice, after a term of thirty-one years, and repayment of the principal.

After a long debate, the petition was rejected by a majority of 223 against 138 †.

The opposition, however, were not intimidated by the rejection of this proposal. They had been taken

\* Horace Walpole to lord Harrington, March 2. Correspondence.

† Journals.

Period IV. taken unawares, and compelled, by the address of  
 1727 to 1730. the minister, to bring it forward before it had been  
 fully digested. They resolved therefore to introduce the business again, and employed the intervening time in publishing anonymous letters, essays in periodical papers, and pamphlets, against exclusive companies in general, and particularly against the East India company. All the arguments \* which had ever been advanced against monopolies in this and other mercantile companies, were retailed on this occasion, and all the benefits which were supposed to result from a free trade, were magnified with great art and subtilty. The ministers and the East India company were not on their part silent; they likewise defended, with no less skill, the advantages of an united company, vested with exclusive privileges, and bound by peculiar regulations, under the controul of the legislature. The petition was again presented to the house of commons, on the 9th of April, and rejected without a division. While it was depending, the minister brought in his bill, which prolonged the charter to 1766, on the condition of paying £.200,000 towards the supply of the year, and of reducing the interest of the money advanced to the public, from £.160,000 to £.120,000, or one per cent. by which bargain, the nation was benefited to the amount of at least a million.

An act which passed this session, though trifling in itself, yet must not be omitted, as it formed  
 part

\* The reader will find the arguments, pro and con, in Anderson's History of Commerce, who has treated the question with great judgment. Vol. 3. p. 156—162.

part of those commercial regulations which the minister was endeavouring gradually to introduce, by taking off several restraints that shackled foreign commerce. It seems to have been the first deviation from a general principle which had been established by the European nations who had dominions in America, to maintain an exclusive intercourse between the mother country and the colonies. The narrow spirit of this impolitic restriction, from which incredible advantages were supposed to result, but which in reality was productive of great inconveniencies, did not escape the notice of the minister; and he suffered an exception to be made of rice, as a perishable commodity. An act accordingly was passed, for granting liberty to carry rice from Carolina directly to any part of Europe, south of Cape Finisterre, in British bottoms, navigated by British sailors\*. In consequence of this beneficial act, the plantations of rice were considerably increased in the province of Carolina. The good effects of this regulation induced the minister afterwards to extend the privilege to the colony of Georgia. And it is the observation of an eminent commercial writer, "that the consequence of both these well-judged laws has been, that the rice of the American plantations has been preferred to the rice of Verona and Egypt, which had before a general sale †."

The

\* Tindal, vol. 20. p. 76.

† Anderson's Origin of Commerce, vol. 3. p. 164.



Period IV. The opposition moved in the course of the session for various papers, relating to foreign affairs. Of those they obtained, little use seems to have been made, except to furnish matter to the writers of pamphlets and essays in periodical papers. These publications now assumed such an air of violence and audacity, as seems to have alarmed the minister, perhaps too much, for it induced him to make it one of the topics of animadversion in the speech from the throne which terminated the session.

May 15th.

Change of the ministry.

The same day on which the house was prorogued, Townshend resigned. Lord Harrington was appointed secretary of state, Henry Pelham secretary at war, and the privy seal was given to the earl of Wilmington, on whose assistance opposition had relied with the most perfect security. In a few months after, he was created lord president of the council, which high office he held till the removal of Sir Robert Walpole.

The charge of foreign affairs now ostensibly devolved on the duke of Newcastle and lord Harrington, whose characters form a remarkable contrast, though they acted together with the utmost cordiality.

Character of the duke of Newcastle.

Thomas Pelham Holles, duke of Newcastle, was son of Thomas lord Pelham, by Grace, sister of John Holles, duke of Newcastle. He was born in August 1693-4, and on the death of his father, in 1712, succeeded to the barony of Pelham: he inherited a large part of the great estate of his uncle, who had no issue male, and took the name of

of Holles. Being of a great Whig family, he strenuously promoted the succession of the line of Brunswick. Soon after the accession of George the First, he was created earl of Clare, and in 1715, duke of Newcastle. He supported the administration of his brother-in-law \* lord Townshend; but on the schism of the Whig administration in 1717, he attached himself to Sunderland, by whose influence he was appointed lord chamberlain of the household, and invested with the order of the garter. On the coalition which took place in 1720, between Sunderland and Townshend, he joined his former friend. During the struggle in the cabinet between Townshend and Walpole on one side, and Carteret and Cadogan on the other, he uniformly attached himself to the brother ministers. His devotion to their cause was so warm, and his consequence as one of the great Whig leaders so highly appreciated, that he was solely admitted into the most intimate confidence, and entrusted with the most secret transactions. In their private correspondence, they invariably style him their good friend: Townshend repeatedly desires Walpole to give information to the duke. In one place he expressly says, "When I desire you to communicate this to no one, I always except the duke of Newcastle;" and Walpole no less frequently assures his correspondent, that he has no reserve for their common friend. When it became necessary  
to

\* The first wife of Charles viscount Townshend was Elizabeth, daughter of lord Pelham by his first wife, Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Sir William Jones, attorney general to Charles the Second.

Period IV. 1727 to 1730. to remove Carteret from the office of secretary of state, Newcastle was selected as the fittest person to fill that station, which in consequence of the alliance with France, was a post of the highest delicacy and importance.

Newcastle was thirty years of age when he was raised to this office, and as he succeeded Carteret, whose knowledge of foreign affairs, and talents for business were duly appreciated, his appointment to so important a trust was contemptuously spoken of, and the new secretary was considered as not capable of fully discharging the duties of his office. His outward appearance and manners, seemed to justify this observation. He was trifling and embarrassed in conversation, always eager and in a hurry to transact business, yet without due method. He was unbounded in flattery to those above him, or whose interest he was desirous to conciliate, and highly gratified with the grossest adulation to himself. The facility with which he made and broke his promises, became almost proverbial. He was not sufficiently considerate to his secretaries and subordinate clerks, exacting from them a large sacrifice of time and labour; and to his immediate dependants he was fretful and capricious.

With these unfavourable appearances, he gave few symptoms of the talents which he undoubtedly possessed. In fact, he had much better abilities than are usually attributed to him. He had a quick comprehension; he was an useful and frequent debater in the house of peers; had an answer ready



ready on all occasions; and spoke with great animation, though with little arrangement, and without grace or dignity. He wrote with uncommon facility, and with such fluency of words, that no one ever used a greater variety of expressions; and it is a remarkable circumstance, that in his most confidential letters, written with such expedition as to be almost illegible, there is scarcely a single erasure or alteration.

His temper was peevish and fretful, and he was always jealous of those with whom he acted. Of this jealousy, Townshend occasionally complained in his private correspondence with Horace Walpole, and in one instance, he particularly observes, "This was my view in sending a projet mitoyen, but my dear friend the duke looks upon the thoughts of any body else as reflections upon his own; and instead of considering the use that may be made of what is suggested by another, looks upon it as a personal thing, and runs out into a long justification of his own performances, which nobody finds fault with\*." Sir Robert Walpole also repeatedly insinuated to his correspondents, not to omit writing confidentially to Newcastle, and exhorted them rather to neglect him than the duke, who would be grievously offended by the smallest omission. This jealousy, suppressed in some measure during his subordinate situation under lord Townshend, increased as he advanced in years, was highly troublesome to the minister of the house of commons,

\* Walpole Papers.

Period IV. 1727 to 1730. mons, and created so much disgust, as to occasion frequent altercations.

George the Second had conceived a very early and violent antipathy to the duke of Newcastle, which was augmented by the discordancy of their tempers and habits, particularly by his deficiency in method and exactness, which the king considered as essential characteristics of a minister. The representations of Walpole, on the necessity of conciliating a man so powerful from family and party connections, induced the king to moderate or conceal his repugnance; but his dislike broke out occasionally into bitter expressions of contempt and aversion. In one of these discontented moods, he said to a confidential person, "You see that I am compelled to take the duke of Newcastle to be my minister, who is not fit to be chamberlain in the smallest court of Germany."

With these habits, and this disposition, and under the necessity of struggling against the deep-rooted aversion of George the Second, it is a matter of surprise that he so long retained his power; for if we reckon from his first promotion to the post of lord chamberlain, to his resignation at the commencement of the reign of George the Third, he continued to fill a high situation at court for a period of six and forty years. This long continuance in office was owing to his situation as the chief leader of the Whigs, to his princely fortune and profusion of expence, to the high integrity and disinterestedness of his character, and to the uniform,

form support which he gave to the house of Brunswick.

As a subordinate minister, acting under superior influence, his zeal and activity were highly useful; and his want of order, and warmth of temper, were counteracted and modified by the method and prudence of Walpole. But when he was placed at the head of affairs, he became distracted \* with the multiplicity of business, yet unwilling to divide it with others. Weakness of counsels, fluctuation of opinion, and deficiency of spirit, marked his administration during an inglorious period of sixteen years; from which England did not recover, until the mediocrity of his ministerial talents, and the indecision of his character, were controuled by the ascendancy of Pitt.

His colleague in office, William Stanhope, (descended from Sir John Stanhope, brother of Philip the first earl of Chesterfield) was third son of John Stanhope of Elvaston, in Derbyshire. After receiving a learned education, he entered into the profession of arms; served in Spain under his kinsman James, afterwards earl Stanhope, and after several promotions, obtained, in 1715, a regiment of horse. He was chosen in the first parliament of the reign of George the First, for the town of Derby; and in 1717, appointed envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the king of Spain. On the rupture between Spain and England in 1718,

Character of  
lord Harrington.

\* Lord Harvy, in a letter to Horace Walpole, said of him, "that he did nothing in the same hurry and agitation, as if he did every thing." Correspondence, Period V.



Period IV. 1718, he was named envoy and plenipotentiary to the court of Turin. In May 1721 he served as a volunteer in the French army commanded by marshal Berwick, which laid siege to Fontarabia, During this war, he concerted a plan for the destruction of three Spanish ships of the line, and a great quantity of naval stores, in the port of St. Andero, in the Bay of Biscay; an English squadron effected that enterprize; he himself contributed to the execution, by accompanying a detachment of troops, which Berwick sent at his solicitation, and was the first that leaped into the water when the boats approached the shore\*.

On the peace with Spain, he was constituted brigadier general, and returned to Madrid in the same character as before. During his residence at that court, he was witness to many extraordinary events, which he has ably detailed in his dispatches: the abdication of Philip the Fifth, the succession and death of Louis, the resumption of the crown by Philip, the return of the Spanish infanta, the separation of Spain from France, and union with the house of Austria, and the rise and fall of Ripperda. He manifested great firmness and discretion when that minister was forcibly taken from his house; and his conduct on this occasion, principally impressed the king and the ministers with a deep sense of his diplomatic talents, and contributed to his future elevation.

On the rupture with Spain, which commenced with the siege of Gibraltar, he returned to England,

1727.

land, was appointed vice chamberlain to the king, and soon afterwards nominated, in conjunction with Horace Walpole and Stephen Poyntz, plenipotentiary at the congress of Soissons. Chapter 35.  
1730.

He had now two great objects in view, a peerage, and the office of secretary of state. But he had to struggle as well against the ill-will of the king, who was highly displeased with his brother Charles Stanhope, as against the prejudices of Sir Robert Walpole, who, deeply impressed with a recollection of the conduct of earl Stanhope at Hanover, had taken an aversion to the very name. It required all the influence of the duke of Newcastle, and the friendship of Horace Walpole, to surmount these obstructions; which were not removed until he had gained an accession to his diplomatic character, by repairing to Spain, and concluding the treaty of Seville. His merits in that delicate negotiation, extorted the peerage from the king; and on the resignation of lord Townshend, he was nominated secretary of state. In that office, his knowledge of foreign affairs, his application to business, his attention to diplomatic forms, the solemnity of his deportment, the precision of his dispatches, and his propensity to the adoption of vigorous measures against France, on the death of Augustus the Second, rendered him highly acceptable to the king. Having offended queen Caroline, by affecting to set up an interest independent of her, he would have been removed, had not his prudence and caution again conciliated her favour.

Period IV.  
1727 to 1730.

He never cordially coalesced with Sir Robert Walpole ; and although he almost uniformly acted in subservience to his views, he looked up to the duke of Newcastle as his patron and friend, and gave many instances in which he sacrificed his own interests, even in opposition to the commands of the king, to gratitude and friendship. He was a man of strong sense and moderation ; of high honour and disinterested integrity ; and so tenacious of his word, that Philip of Spain said of him, “ Stanhope is the only foreign minister who never deceived me \*.” He was of a mild and even temper, and contracted, by long habit, so much patience and phlegm, that he was characterised by the Portuguese minister, Don Azevedo †, as “ *not being accustomed to interrupt those who spoke to him.*” A contemporary historian ‡ has also farther described him as one whose moderation, good sense, and integrity, were such, that he was not considered as a party man, and had few or no personal enemies. Although he never spoke in the house of peers, yet he was highly useful in recommending to the cabinet the most prudent method of attack or defence, and in suggesting hints to those who were endowed with the gift of the tongue.

\* Stephen Poyntz to Thomas Townshend, August 4, 1729. Correspondence.  
† Orford Papers.  
‡ Tindal.



## CHAPTER THE THIRTY-SEVENTH:

1730.

*Origin and Progress of the Disagreement between Townshend and Walpole.—Resignation—Retreat and Death of Townshend.*

THE treaty of Seville was the concluding act of Townshend's administration; it was signed on the 9th of November 1729, and on the 16th of May he retired in disgust from the office of secretary of state. His resignation was owing to a disagreement with his brother-in-law and co-adjutor, Sir Robert Walpole, which had long subsisted. It had been occasionally compromised by the interference of common friends, but finally broke into a rupture, which rendered the continuance of both in office incompatible.

*Causes of the disagreement between Townshend and Walpole.*

The causes of this misunderstanding were various, and originated from the difference of temper, from disagreement on subjects of domestic and foreign politics, from political and private jealousy.

Townshend was frank and impetuous, long accustomed to dictate in the cabinet, and fond of recommending bold measures. Walpole was mild, insinuating, pliant, and good-tempered; desirous of conciliating by lenient methods, but prepared to employ vigour when vigour was necessary.

Period IV.  
1727 to 1730.

The impetuous manners of Townshend, began to alienate the king, and disgust the queen; several members of the cabinet were no less dissatisfied with him. Newcastle, in particular, was anxious to remove a minister, who absolutely directed all foreign affairs, and who rendered him a mere cypher; he wished to procure the appointment of lord Harrington, who already owed his peerage to him, and who, he flattered himself, would act in subservience to his dictates.

To these public causes of misunderstanding, derived from a desire of pre-eminence, a private motive was unfortunately added. The family of Townshend had long been the most conspicuous, and accustomed to take the lead, as the only one then distinguished by a peerage, in the county of Norfolk; the Walpoles were subordinate both in estate and consequence, and Houghton was far inferior in splendour to Rainham\*. But circumstances were much altered. Sir Robert Walpole was at the head of the treasury, a peerage had been conferred on his son, the increase of his paternal domains, the construction of a magnificent seat, the acquisition of a superb collection of paintings, a sumptuous stile of living, and affable manners, drew to Houghton a conflux of company, and eclipsed the more sober and less splendid establishment at Rainham.

Walpole had long been considered as the first minister in all business relating to the internal affairs:

\* Rainham was built by Inigo Jones for Sir Roger Townshend.

fairs : he was the principal butt of opposition, for the name of Townshend scarcely once occurs in the *Craftsman*, and the other political papers against government; while that of Walpole is seen in almost every page.

Chapter 37.

1735.

His influence over the queen had, on the accession of George the Second, prevented the removal of Townshend. He managed the house of commons, and was supported by a far greater number of friends than his brother minister could boast, who had little parliamentary influence; and still less personal credit.

Walpole felt, in all these circumstances, his superior consequence; he was conscious that he should be supported by the queen, and was unwilling to continue to act in a subordinate situation; while Townshend, who had long been used to dictate, could not bear any opposition to his sentiments, or any resistance to his views. He considered his brother minister as one who had first enlisted himself under his banners, and who ought to continue to act with the same implicit obedience to his commands. Hence a struggle for power ensued.

Townshend had been hitherto the principal dispenser of ecclesiastical preferments. This great object of ministerial influence was naturally coveted by Walpole, and had occasioned frequent disputes. In many points of domestic administration, the violence of Townshend's measures was reprobated and opposed by Walpole, particularly in the business of Wood's coinage; in the haughty



Period IV. 1727 to 1730. manner of writing to the duke of Grafton, then lord lieutenant of Ireland; and in the measures adopted in the riots in Scotland in 1725. In foreign affairs, Walpole affected not to interfere, declaring that he did not understand them, and that they did not belong to his department; yet he always opposed, as much as lay in his power, all complicated engagements, and uniformly objected to the too lavish expenditure of the public money in the formation of alliances, which he often considered as useless and chimerical. His remonstrances had produced a sensible effect in opposition to the sentiments of Townshend; but it was particularly in the negotiation for the treaty of Hanover, that a wide difference of opinion had subsisted. He expressed his disapprobation at the precipitate manner in which it was concluded, and was offended that such an important step had been taken without a due communication to him.

He was still more dissatisfied when the Danish subsidy became due. For as France avoided paying her share, and the whole burthen fell upon England, he, as minister of finance, was under the necessity of finding resources to supply the deficiency.

In several dispatches from the foreign ministers in 1725 and 1726, frequent mention is made of the growing misunderstanding between Townshend and Walpole, and a rupture is described as unavoidable. Yet these bickerings and occasional instances of discordant sentiments, did not alien-

ate the brother ministers. They continued to act Chapter 37.  
together, and on the accession of George the Se- 1730.  
cond, the removal of one would have been fol-  
lowed with the resignation of the other. Their  
union at this period was so close, and the opinion  
which Walpole entertained of Townshend so fa-  
vourable, that in 1727, when Townshend was in  
imminent danger, Walpole expressed, in terms of  
affection and concern, his apprehensions of the  
loss which the cause would sustain from his death;  
“ he considered him as the bulwark of the consti-  
tution; and trusted *that Providence would interpose  
to save the man, without whom all must fall to the  
ground* \*.”

These disputes had been frequently allayed by Influence and  
the interposition of lady Townshend; she had, death of lady  
like an Octavia between Anthony and Augustus, Townshend.  
by a discreet exertion of her influence as wife and  
sister, moderated the asperities of the contending  
politicians. But her mediation had unfortunately  
ceased by her death, which happened in March  
1726.

Queen Caroline observed the growing misun- The queen fa-  
derstanding between the brother ministers, and vours Walpole.  
when the rupture became unavoidable, gave her  
support to Walpole in preference to Townshend.  
By her influence, he soon obtained the preponder-  
ance.

Townshend, thus reduced to act a secondary Prevents the  
part, was resolved to make an effort to recover appointment  
of his of Chesterfield.

\* See Correspondence, Period IV.

Period IV. 1727 to 1730. his former power, by removing the duke of Newcastle, whose official jealousy, and attempts to raise lord Harrington to the office of secretary of state, had displeased him, and placing his friend lord Chesterfield, who had long aspired to that station, in his stead. Full of these projects, he accompanied the king to Hanover; and being the only English minister of the cabinet abroad, embraced the favourable opportunity of ingratiating himself. He became more obsequious to the king's German prejudices, paid his court with unceasing assiduity, and appeared to have gained so much influence, that he thought himself capable of obtaining the appointment of Chesterfield, who was ambassador at the Hague, and had considerably distinguished himself in his diplomatic capacity. At the suggestion of lord Townshend, he waited on the king in his passage through Holland, and obtained permission to attend his majesty to London. When Chesterfield received the offer of the secretaryship of state, he inquired of Lord Townshend whether the queen was secured; the answer implied no doubt. But as he had offended her majesty by the court he paid to lady Suffolk, she exerted all her influence, which was seldom exerted in vain, to frustrate the scheme.

Altercation between Townshend and Walpole.

Such an attempt, however secretly conducted, could not escape the observation of Walpole. He conferred with the queen on the proper means of averting the design, and the communications he received from her in this and other particulars, inflamed his resentment. On quitting the palace  
after



after one of these conferences, he met Townshend at colonel Selwyn's, in Cleveland Court, in the presence of the duke of Newcastle, Mr. Pelham, colonel and Mrs. Selwyn. The conversation turned on a foreign negotiation, which at the desire of Walpole had been relinquished. Townshend, however, still required that the measure should be mentioned to the commons, at the same time that the house should be informed that it was given up. Walpole objecting to this proposal as inexpedient, and calculated only to give unnecessary trouble, Townshend said, "Since you object, and the house of commons is your concern more than mine, I shall not persist in my opinion; but as I now give way, I cannot avoid observing, that upon my honour I think that mode of proceeding would have been most advisable." Walpole, piqued at these expressions, lost his temper, and said, "My lord, for once, there is no man's sincerity which I doubt so much as your lordship's, and I never doubted it so much as when you are pleased to make such strong professions." Townshend, incensed at this reproach, seized him by the collar, Sir Robert caught hold of him in return, and then both, at the same instant, quitted their grasp, and laid their hands upon their swords. Mrs. Selwyn, alarmed, attempted to call the guards, but was prevented by Pelham. But although their friends interposed to prevent an immediate duel, yet the contumelious expressions used on this occasion, rendered all attempts to heal the breach ineffectual.

Period IV.

1727 to 1730.

Their difference as to foreign affairs.

Great difference of opinion had also arisen in regard to foreign affairs. When Townshend accompanied the king abroad, in May 1729, he considered the Emperor as the sole cause of the obstacles which impeded a general pacification, and immediately on his arrival at Hanover, plunged into the chaos of German politics. He was so much incensed against the Emperor, and so vehemently inclined to compel him to accede to the admission of Spanish garrisons into Parma and Leghorn, that he promoted, to the utmost of his power, the conclusion of a subsidiary alliance with the four electors of the Rhine, by which England could not have guarantied the pragmatic sanction during the existence of that alliance. On the contrary, Walpole, anxious not to do any thing which might render England incapable for a time to gratify the Emperor in his favourite project, secretly opposed the conclusion of the treaty, and laboured to reconcile the discordant politics of Spain and Austria, or if that was impossible, to conciliate Spain without too much irritating the Emperor.

This collision of opinions naturally increased the misunderstanding, led them to counteract each other, and to strive for pre-eminence in the cabinet.

Townshend ineffectually recommends Methuen.

Having failed in raising Chesterfield to the office of secretary of state, Townshend made a last attempt to obtain that place for Sir Paul Methuen; in which he was equally unsuccessful. These disappointments increased his natural irritability,

tability, which he vented in peevish expressions against lord Harrington; and these reproaches, probably exaggerated by the duke of Newcastle, increased the animosities in the cabinet.

Chapter 37.

1730.

At length the contest was brought to a crisis. <sup>Is finally defeated.</sup> Townshend seems to have obtained the good-will of the king by representing, that he was the only support of his German interest, that lord Harrington neglected pressing the plan of operations against the Emperor, and that Hanover would be sacrificed by the new arrangements. Under these circumstances, the duke of Newcastle, with the approbation of the Walpoles, drew up a dispatch to the plenipotentiaries at Soissons, dissuading an attack of the Austrian Netherlands, advising that an army should be assembled on the banks of the Rhine, for the purpose of threatening the frontiers of Bohemia; and strongly recommending, that before this plan was concerted with France, proposals of accommodation should be presented to the Emperor. But, before the letter was submitted to the king, Townshend had written to his majesty, enforcing the necessity of forming a plan of hostile operations before any declaration was made, for the purpose of compelling the king of Prussia to submit, and reducing the Emperor to accept of the terms dictated by England and her allies.

The king approved this advice, and ordered Townshend to communicate his resolution to the duke of Newcastle and Horace Walpole, that instructions might be forwarded to the plenipotentiaries,



Period IV. 1727 to 1730. tiaries, in conformity to that opinion. Townshend accordingly sent the letter, with the king's answer, to Horace Walpole, and went into Norfolk for a few days. In this dilemma, the duke despaired of success, and proposed to act agreeably to the dictates of Townshend. But Sir Robert Walpole communicated Newcastle's dispatch to the queen, and obtained, through her influence, the assent of the king, who expressed his full approbation of the contents.

Resigns.

Townshend, finding that his personal influence with the king was not sufficient to counteract the exertions of his rivals, opposed by the queen, and deserted by the remaining members of the cabinet, gave in his resignation, and retired from public affairs.

Explains the causes of his resignation.

In several letters to his confidential correspondents abroad, which are still extant in the Rainham Collection, Townshend attributes his resignation principally to the effects of his dangerous illness in 1727, which rendered him incapable of supporting the fatigues of his place, but hints at the same time with great delicacy at the coolness and misintelligence which had arisen between him and Sir Robert Walpole, and at the disgust he had recently received from that quarter. At the same time he adds, with great spirit and dignity, he is happy to announce that his retreat has not made any alteration in public affairs, and that he never could have resolved to quit his situation, if he had not been fully convinced that Walpole would follow the same principles, and carry on the

the same measures which had been hitherto pursued. In his letter to Slingelandt, he observes, “ the king has had the goodness to permit me to retire in the most obliging manner, and has most graciously received the assurances, which I took the liberty to make, that notwithstanding my resignation, I should always be ready to furnish all the eclairsissemens in my power whenever it shall be deemed necessary for his service.”

Townshend retired with a most unsullied character for integrity, honour, and disinterestedness, and gave several striking proofs that he could command the natural warmth of his temper, and rise superior to the malignant influence of party and disappointed ambition. The opposition, who had formed sanguine expectations from the disunion in the cabinet, were prepared to receive him with open arms, but he resisted their advances, and firmly persevered in his original determination. Soon after Chesterfield commenced his ardent opposition to Walpole, he went to Rainsford, and requested Townshend to attend an important question in the house of lords. Townshend replied, that he had formed a resolution which he could not break, of never again engaging in political contests. “ I recollect,” he added, “ that lord Cowper, though a staunch Whig, had been betrayed by personal pique and party resentment, in his opposition to the ministry, to throw himself into the arms of the Tories, and even to support principles which tended to serve the cause of the Jacobites. I know that I am extremely warm ;

Retirement.

Period IV. warm; and I am apprehensive if I should attend  
 1727 to 1730. the house of lords, I also may be hurried away by  
 the impetuosity of my temper, and by personal  
 resentment, to adopt a line of conduct, which in  
 my cooler moments I may regret." He main-  
 tained this honourable and truly patriotic reso-  
 lution; and thus proved himself worthy of the  
 highest eulogium.

Death.

He passed the evening of his days in the pur-  
 suit of rural occupations and agricultural experi-  
 ments; his improvements ameliorated the state of  
 husbandry, his hospitality endeared him to his  
 neighbours, and the dignity of his character insured  
 respect. Apprehensive of being tempted again to  
 enter into those scenes of active life, which he  
 had resolved totally to abandon, he never revisit-  
 ed the capital, but died at Rainham, in 1738,  
 aged 64.

Notwithstanding the asperity with which this  
 contest was conducted, the brother ministers seem  
 to have renounced their friendship without forfeit-  
 ing their esteem for each other. Townshend did  
 not indulge in peevish expressions against his suc-  
 cessful rival, and Sir Robert Walpole never blamed  
 the ministerial conduct or depreciated the abili-  
 ties of lord Townshend. He was always unwill-  
 ing to enter into the causes of their disunion;  
 when an intimate friend pressed him on the sub-  
 ject some years afterwards, he made several at-  
 tempts to evade the question, and at length re-  
 plied, "It is difficult to trace the causes of a dis-  
 pute between statesmen, but I will give you the  
 history



history in a few words ; as long as the firm of the house was Townshend and Walpole, the utmost harmony prevailed ; but it no sooner became Walpole and Townshend, than things went wrong, and a separation ensued \*.”

Chapter 37.

1730.

\* The contents of this chapter are derived from the letters in the Correspondence —Etough's Papers.—The late Earl of Hardwicke's Memorandums.—Maty's Life of Lord Chesterfield.—Communications from the late earl of Orford, lord Sydney, and his brother Charles Townshend, esquire.

## PERIOD THE FIFTH:

From the Resignation of Lord TOWNSHEND to  
the Diffolution of the Parliament:

1730—1734:

## CHAPTER THE THIRTY-EIGHTH:

1730—1731.

*Walpole inclines to a Reconciliation with the Emperor.—Negotiations which preceded and terminated in the Treaty of Vienna.—Treaty of Seville carried into Execution.—Transactions in Parliament.—General Satisfaction.—Character of Earl Waldegrave, the new Ambassador at Paris.*

Walpole conducts foreign affairs.

THE resignation of Townshend placed Walpole in a new point of view. Hitherto he had taken no public part in foreign affairs, and only indirectly influenced the current negotiations, either through the private interposition of the queen, or the medium of his brother, affecting to leave the sole direction of those matters to the secretary of state. But the removal of Townshend instantly changed his situation. The duke of Newcastle for some time continued to act the same subordinate part as before; and the new secretary, lord Harrington, received his impulse from the minister of the finance, or from his brother

Horace.

Horace. Walpole, therefore, now took a more open and decided place in the regulation of foreign transactions, and his opinion seems to have principally contributed to the renewal of the ancient connection with the house of Austria, with whom England had been so long in a state of open defiance.

Chapter 38.  
1730 to 1731.

He had sagaciously appreciated the advantages which resulted to England from the alliance with France, convinced that an union with that power had effectually hurt the cause of the Pretender, and counteracted the schemes of the Jacobites. He was aware that France, during the minority of Louis the Fifteenth, or under the government of a prime minister like Cardinal Fleury, of a pacific and timid disposition, was a very proper ally in a defensive treaty, to check and prevent the designs of the Emperor, who had formed schemes and alliances detrimental to the security and commerce of England. He well knew that ministers of a free nation must sometimes be obliged to contract new engagements, in opposition to those powers with whom they would have been willing to have lived in the strictest friendship, upon just and honourable terms \*.

Promotes a  
reconciliation  
with the Em-  
peror.

He had therefore concurred with Townshend, in warmly promoting the alliance with France, and was not deterred by the popular outcry, that the measures of the cabinet were directed to lower our natural ally, the house of Austria, and exalt France, our natural enemy, from pursuing a plan which secured

\* The interest of Great Britain steadily pursued, p. 26.



Period V.  
1730 to 1734.

cured to England internal tranquillity and external peace. The improvement of our commerce and manufactures were a full justification of this wise measure.

But things were now considerable changed. The solid establishment of the house of Hanover on the throne of Great Britain, and the number of Jacobites who, on the quiet accession of George the Second, renounced their principles, had lessened the danger of internal commotions, and rendered the co-operation of France in favour of the Pretender, less an object of alarm.

State of the  
French cabinet.

The relative situation of France was no less changed. Morville, the friend of England, had been dismissed from the office of secretary of state, and his successor, Chauvelin, the enemy of England, governed Cardinal Fleury. A reconciliation had taken place between France and Spain, and the ancient jealousy between France and England began to revive on both sides.

In consequence of this alteration of circumstances, France acted from policy an indecisive and wavering part. When the Emperor, in opposition to the arrangements made by the allies of Seville, declared, that if Spanish troops should enter Tuscany, he would drive them out, it became necessary either to force him to execute that treaty, or to prevail upon him, by the guaranty of his favourite object, the pragmatic sanction. Cardinal Fleury affected to co-operate with England, in obtaining the consent of the Emperor, either by force or persuasive means; but artfully threw  
\* obstacles

obstacles in the way of both. Various schemes for effecting that end were proposed. It was the great object of England to prevent the invasion of the Low Countries, and to confine principally the seat of war to Sicily, or at least to Italy. It was the view of the French to extend it to the other parts of the Austrian dominions, under the hopes of making conquests on the side of Germany and the Low Countries.

Chapter 38.  
1730 to 1731.

When the two nations were actuated with such different views, no co-incidence of opinion could be expected. France objected to all schemes, either of compulsion or compromise, and endeavoured to throw the blame of inactivity on the English and Dutch. Meanwhile Spain complained bitterly that the treaty of Seville was not executed, and that Parma and Tuscany, for the attainment of which she had acceded to the quadruple alliance, were on the point of being lost.

Walpole now perceived that the strict alliance with France could no longer be maintained. He had two objects in view, the one, according to his own expressions, to avoid a war with the Emperor, for fear of its consequences, and the other with Spain, on account of our trade, and the only method of effecting both these purposes was to renew the ancient connection with the house of Austria, and to lure the Emperor to accede to the treaty of Seville, with a promise of guarantying the pragmatic sanction.

Negotiations  
at Vienna.

On these interesting topics he maintained a correspondence with his brother, Horace Walpole,

Period V. ambassador at Paris; combated his opinion in favour of continuing the friendship with France, and gradually brought him over to approve a negotiation with the house of Austria.

1730 to 1734.

The Emperor had, before the treaty of Seville, endeavoured to open a separate negotiation with England, and since its conclusion had thrown out hints to our ambassador at Vienna, that a thorough reconciliation might easily be effected. In consequence of these insinuations, the British cabinet decided on making the attempt, and lord Harrington announced this resolution in an official dispatch to Mr. Robinson, who had succeeded earl Waldegrave in the embassy to Vienna\*.

An answer being transmitted, that the Imperial court was inclined, with every appearance of sincerity on their part, to renew their ancient connection with England, on fair and reasonable conditions, farther instructions were forwarded from the secretary of state, together with the plans of treaties and declarations to be signed by the Emperor, both in regard to the disputes with England, and to the king's German affairs †.

Jan. 29.

While this negotiation was pending, the delay gave such umbrage to the king of Spain, that he declared, by the Marquis of Castellar, his ambassador at Paris, that he considered himself free from all engagements contracted on his part by the treaty of Seville, and at full liberty to adopt such

\* September 14-25, 1730. Correspondence, Period V.

† Lord Harrington to Mr. Robinson, Dec. 4-15, 1730.



such measures as should be most suitable to his interests. Chapter 8.  
1730 to 1731.

Soon after these transactions, the duke of Parma died; the duchess, his widow, declared herself pregnant: the Emperor, with the secret connivance of England, took possession of Parma, making at the same time a declaration, that if the duchess should be delivered of a son, the introduction of the Spanish troops should take place; if of a daughter, Don Carlos should instantly receive the investiture of Parma and Placentia, from the Emperor and empire. Death of the  
duke of Parma.

In opening this negotiation, the British cabinet had declared the determined resolution of the king to make the treaty of Seville the basis of the new alliance, and the securing to Don Carlos the succession to Tuscany and Parma was held out as an indispensable article. The minister was aware that the best method to obtain peace was to be prepared for war, and that the only successful means for carrying the treaty of Seville into effect, were to be ready to enforce its execution by vigorous measures. The speech which the king delivered from the throne on the meeting of parliament, was drawn up by him in conformity with these sentiments. After declaring, that every measure was adopted to prevent, by an accommodation, the fatal consequences of a general rupture; and that it was impossible to state the supplies which would be required for the current service of the year, until peace or war Parliamentary  
proceedings.  
  
Jan. 21;

Period V. should be decided upon, it concluded with these  
 1730 to 1734 strong expressions :

“ The time draws near, which will admit of no farther delays. If the tranquillity of Europe can be settled without the effusion of blood, or the expence of public treasure, that situation will certainly be most happy and desirable. But if that blessing cannot be obtained, honour, justice, and the sacred faith due to solemn treaties, will call upon us to exert ourselves, in procuring by force, what cannot be had upon just and reasonable terms \*.”

The negotiation was carried on with so much address and secrecy, that although some rumour of it transpired, and hints were thrown out in the *Craftsman*, yet the debate on the side of the minority was conducted on a supposition, that England was preparing to execute the treaty of Seville by force, and an amendment to the address was proposed, that the king should be requested not to concur in a war against the Emperor, either in Flanders or on the Rhine. But when this proposition was negatived, a more plausible amendment was suggested by opposition, who artfully availed themselves of the prejudice conceived against the king for his attachment to Hanover; they proposed to insert, that they would support his majesty's engagements, so far as they related to the interest of Great Britain. In answer to this proposal, Walpole did not hesitate to declare,

declare, "That such an expression in their address would seem to insinuate, that the king had entered into engagements that did not relate to the interests of Great Britain, which would be a great instance of ingratitude towards the king, who in all his measures had never shewed the least regard to any thing but the interest of Great Britain, and the ease and security of the people ; as all those who had the honour to serve him could testify, and upon their honour declare ; he hoped every member of that house was convinced, that the king would never enter into any engagement that was not absolutely necessary for procuring the happiness, and insuring the safety, of his subjects, and therefore it was quite unnecessary to confine the words of their address to such engagements as related to the interest of Great Britain \*."

Nothing was said directly in answer to this assertion, though so much might have been said. It was only urged, that to support any hostile operations against the Emperor on the Rhine, was absolutely destructive to the interests of Great Britain, tending to the total subversion of the balance of power ; that the house had good reason to believe that no minister would dare to advise the king to such a measure ; and the member who used these strong expressions, concluded by opposing the amendment as unnecessary : the address was therefore carried without a division. It was also drawn up by the minister, and after acknowledging,



Period V. 1730 to 1734. ledging, in terms of gratitude, the king's goodness, "in endeavouring to have the conditions of the treaty of Seville fulfilled and executed, in such manner as might best secure a general pacification, and be conformable to his engagements with his allies," declared, "that they would, with all chearfulness, grant such supplies as should be necessary for the service of the ensuing year, and effectually enable the king to make good his engagements \*."

Unanimity and  
zeal.

The unanimity and vigour of this address, which was equally adopted by the house of peers, had a great effect on the transactions abroad, and gave energy to the negotiations of Vienna.

In consequence of the adoption of these measures, lord Harrington expressed to the British minister at Vienna, the king's disapprobation of the delays and obstacles with which the Imperial court clogged the progress of the negotiations, replied to the counter project of the Emperor, gave farther instructions, and sent the ultimatum of the cabinet.

Obstructions  
to the Austrian  
alliance.

Notwithstanding these remonstrances, the ministry well knew that the obstacles were derived no less from the pertinacity of the Hanoverian, than the haughtiness of the Imperial court, and one of the great difficulties which occurred in concluding an accommodation, arose from blending the affairs of Germany with those of England.

Mr. Ro-



Mr. Robinson had been particularly ordered \* to continue the greatest friendship and confidence towards Dieden, the Hanoverian agent at Vienna, and act in perfect concert with him in every thing, wherein the king's interests were concerned: And to employ his best offices and instances with the Imperial ministers, for procuring the most effectual redress and satisfaction to the king upon the several demands which Dieden was instructed to make for that purpose to the court of Vienna." 1730 to 1731.

These objects of contention between the Emperor and the king, as elector of Hanover, were so various, complicated, and delicate, that the treaty would never have been concluded, had the British minister at Vienna insisted, according to his official orders, upon a full and satisfactory answer to all the points in dispute. Fortunately, ~~Removed~~ the cabinet of London, influenced by Walpole, had the courage to cut the gordian knot, which it could not unloose; lord Harrington, in a private letter, instructed Mr. Robinson † to sign the treaty with England, and to refer the German affairs to a future decision.

Another great difficulty in conducting this negotiation, arose from an erroneous opinion, formed by the Emperor, that the ministers of the English cabinet were disunited, and from a jealousy that the two Walpoles, who were known to direct the helm Farther difficulties obviated.

\* Grantham Papers. Dispatch from lord Harrington to Mr. Robinson,  $\frac{4}{15}$  December, 1730. Correspondence.

† Lord Harrington to Mr. Robinson. January 28th—February 8th, 1731. Correspondence.

Period V.  
1730 to 1734.

helm of government, were favourable to the alliance with France, and consequently hostile to the house of Austria. This notion had been supported by the duchess of Kendal, in her correspondence with the Empress, and corroborated by some leading members of opposition, who had long held a private intercourse of letters with the Emperor or his ministers.

This false opinion, together with the difficulty of settling the German affairs, suspended the signature of the treaty. In this moment of doubt and uncertainty, a letter\* from Horace Walpole to Mr. Robinson, conveying the strongest assurances of his own and his brother's sentiments in favour of the Emperor, decided the Imperial cabinet, and hastened the conclusion.

Second treaty  
of Vienna.

The treaty was signed on the 16th of March, and is usually called the second treaty of Vienna, to distinguish it from that which was concluded in 1725. It was a defensive alliance, and stipulated a reciprocal guaranty of mutual rights and possessions; on the part of England, to guaranty the Emperor's succession, according to the pragmatic sanction; on that of the Emperor, to abolish the Ostend company, and all trade to the East Indies, from any part of the Austrian Netherlands, to secure the succession of Don Carlos to Parma and Tuscany, and not to oppose the introduction of Spanish garrisons.

Effects of the  
treaty.

Thus was this great and difficult task of preventing a general war, accomplished with an address

\* February 9—20, 1732. Correspondence.

dress and secrecy that reflected high honour on those who conducted it. The treaty of Seville was carried into execution without force, and without breach of faith to any other power: to Don Carlos, Parma was secured, with the consent of the Emperor, and the eventual succession of Tuscany guaranteed; Spain was satisfied with England; and the Emperor, gratified with the guaranty of the pragmatic sanction, considered this union as the commencement of a new æra to the house of Austria. Chapter. 38.  
1730 to 1731.

The satisfaction in England was full and complete. In fact, no event more disconcerted opposition, or raised the minister higher in the estimation of the public. It had long been a favourite theme of popular declamation, that his measures had a tendency to lower the house of Austria, and to exalt the power of France. Their arguments were therefore now turned against themselves; the breach of the French alliance, and reconciliation with Austria, took away one plausible topic of raillery and invective.

The only popular objection to the management of foreign affairs now was, that England was entangled in a multiplicity of treaties and guaranties; that no rupture could take place in Europe, in which we should not be obliged to interfere as principals; that it was the steady interest of Great Britain to contract no burthensome engagements, and to trust to her naval strength and insular situation for repelling all foreign attempts. Objections of  
opposition.

To



Period V.

1730 to 1734.

Answered.

To this general objection a general answer was returned; that a nation, whose strength depends upon the flourishing state of trade and credit, (inseparable from that of public tranquillity) whose commerce extends to all parts of the world, and is founded on compacts and stipulations with powers of different and incompatible interests; who has as many enviers as neighbours, as numerous rivals as there are commercial powers, must have a more extensive and particular interest to foresee and obviate those troubles, which, if not prevented in time, might occasion great disturbances, might place so large a share of dominion in the hands of once prince, as to endanger the liberties of the rest, and consequently interrupt her trade. A people thus situated, must provide themselves with foreign support, proportionable to the attempts that may be apprehended from the continental powers to their prejudice, which cannot possibly be secured but by reciprocal engagements on their part, and by interesting themselves as deeply in the welfare of other nations, as they expect those nations to interest themselves on their behalf.

Treaty of Seville carried into execution.

This compact having secured the consent of the Emperor to the introduction of Spanish troops, Philip revoked the marquis de Castelar's declaration, and acceded to the new treaty of Vienna; and the execution of it, which speedily followed, proved the sincerity of the Imperial and British courts. After a few altercations between the Emperor



peror and Don Carlos, the one claiming Parma as an inheritance, and the other insisting on conferring it as a fief of the empire, the Spanish troops landed at Leghorn, on the 20th of October, under convoy of the British and Spanish fleet. Don Carlos himself arrived there on the 26th of December, and was put in full possession of Parma and Placentia.

Chap. 38.  
1730 to 1731

In opening this negotiation, Walpole had been anxious not to irritate France, before he had conciliated the court of Vienna. He judged it prudent to send in the place of his brother Horace, who had returned from his embassy at Paris, a person agreeable to Cardinal Fleury, and in whom he could implicitly confide. Lord Chesterfield had been recommended for that post, as a prelude to his being appointed secretary of state; but Horace Walpole represented to his brother, that his temper and habits would not accord with those of the Cardinal, and suggested the earl of Waldegrave, as more proper for so delicate a situation, who was accordingly nominated.

Character and  
embassy of the  
earl of Walde-  
grave.

James earl of Waldegrave was descended from an ancient family in Northamptonshire, whose ancestors may be traced in a direct line to times anterior to the conquest. They were lords of the towns of Waldegrave, Twywell and Slipton, in the county of Northampton\*; Sir Richard Waldegrave

\* As the account of the Waldegrave family given by Collins, is incorrect in many particulars, a more accurate statement is here added from family documents, communicated by the countess of Waldegrave. "Waldegrave, a Saxon by lyneall descent, lord of the county of Northampton, had at the conquest one only daughter, and her

Period V. 1730 to 1734. Waldegrave was speaker of the house of commons in 1382; and some of his ancestors received the estates of Navestock and Borely, in Essex, and Chewton in Somersetshire, as grants from Henry the Eighth.

In 1643 Sir Edward Waldegrave was made a baronet, and his great grandson, Sir Henry Waldegrave, was, in 1685, created a peer, by the title of baron Waldegrave, of Chewton\*, in Somersetshire, where the family then principally resided. On the revolution he followed the fortunes of James the Second, whose natural daughter, Henrietta, by Arabella Churchill, he had espoused, and to whom he had many and great obligations. He died at Paris in 1689.

His eldest son and successor James, of whom we are now treating, was born in 1684, and educated in the Roman Catholic religion. In 1722 he entered into the communion of the church of England,

“her he married, by the conqueror’s commandment, to Guerin or  
 “Warin de Waldegrave of Normandie, by means of which marriage Waldegrave the Saxon had a pardon granted him by the conqueror, of his life and land, notwithstanding he bore arms against  
 “him at Battle Abbey, on king Harold’s part, which pardon is yet extant, and was lately in the hands of the lords of the manor of Waldegrave, &c. in the county of Northampton. This town and manor was sold by Sir William Waldegrave, knight, in the reign of  
 “king Henry the Eighth.”

Waldegrave is of Saxon derivation, from *Walde*, and *Grave*, signifying the ruler of a *Walde* or forest. The ancestors of the present earl resided in different counties at different periods. A Sir Richard Waldegrave, who was speaker of the house of commons in 1382, married the heiress of Sylvester of Buers, in the county of Suffolk, and either himself or some of his descendants, more than once represented that county.—The grants of Navestock, Borely, and Chewton, probably occasioned the sale of the family inheritance in Northamptonshire.

\* Collins’s Peerage. Collinson’s History of Somersetshire.—Article Chewton.

England, and took his seat in the house of peers. Chapter 38.  
 His uncle, the duke of Berwick, being desirous 1730 to 1731.  
 to mortify him for having renounced his faith, inquired of him whether he had made his abjuration from political or religious motives, and used the expression, "*confess* the truth," to which he plied, "I changed my religion to avoid *confession*."

When it was thought necessary to send an ambassador to Vienna, for the purpose of executing the articles agreed upon in the preliminaries signed between England, France, and the Emperor at Paris, and of conciliating the Emperor, who had been dissatisfied with the king of England, lord Waldegrave was selected as the person whose mild and affable demeanour best qualified him for that negotiation. George the First, who considered the mission as too great a condescension after the ill usage he had received from the Emperor, sent word that he approved the person, though he disliked the errand \*.

Lord Waldegrave set out in May 1727, and arrived at Paris on the 14th of June. The difficulty of settling the complicated negotiations, and the events which followed the death of George the First, detained him in France nearly a year. He went to Vienna in April 1728. During his residence in that capital, he corrected the mistake which the opposition in England had transmitted of their strength, and of the weakness of the party that espoused the measures of government; and plainly shewed that the divisions in the

\* Earl of Waldegrave's Diary.



Period V.  
1730 to 1734.

the cabinet would not diminish the weight and influence of Great Britain abroad. He proved to the Imperial ministers, that the preliminaries with Spain contained no conditions hostile to the house of Austria, and were strictly conformable to the articles of the quadruple alliance. He threw out hopes to the Emperor of a future accommodation with England, and that the guaranty of the pragmatic sanction might be the consequence of acceding to the introduction of Spanish garrisons into Parma and Leghorn. He obtained a ratification of the preliminary articles between the Emperor, England, and France, and laid the foundation of the reconciliation, which Mr. Robinson carried into execution. He then returned to Paris, where he was appointed ambassador extraordinary on the resignation of Horace Walpole.

He filled this difficult employment ten years, during a period in which the disunion between France and England was gradually increasing to an open rupture.

For his services at Vienna, he was created viscount Chewton and earl of Waldegrave, and his exertions at Paris were rewarded with the garter. In 1740 he obtained leave to return for the recovery of his health. He embarked for England, October 1740, and died at his seat at Navestock in Effex, on the 11th of April 1741, in the 57th year of his age.

He was in high confidence with Sir Robert Walpole, and was the foreign ambassador in whom, next to his brother, the minister principally confided.

filed. Several letters which passed between them, Chapter 38.  
and are printed in the correspondence, prove the 1730 to 1734.  
truth of this assertion. He conducted himself in  
his embassies with consummate address, and particularly distinguished himself by obtaining secret information in times of emergency. Though a man of pleasure, he pursued business, when business was necessary, with indefatigable diligence. His letters are written with great spirit, perspicuity, and good sense, and are peculiarly entertaining. He had so little the appearance of a man of business, that he was considered as incapable of writing such excellent dispatches as he transmitted to England, and they were principally attributed to his secretary, Mr. Thompson. But this unjust imputation was soon proved to be false, when the ambassador left France, and the secretary remained chargé d'affaires. The inferiority of his letters, to those which were written during Waldegrave's embassy, was striking, and carried a full conviction, that they were of his own composition. I am enabled also to do justice to the abilities of the earl of Waldegrave in this respect. A complete collection of his letters and dispatches, from 1727 to 1740, is preserved at Navestock, and the greater number are original draughts written in his own hand, with such erasures and alterations as fully prove that they were solely his composition. They do honour to his diplomatic talents, and prove sound sense, an insinuating address, and elegant manners.

The

Period V. The renewal of the ancient alliance with the  
 1730 to 1734. house of Austria, had greatly displeased the French  
 Suspicions of cabinet, and particularly disgusted cardinal Fleury,  
 France. whose sentiments were always inclined to the  
 adoption of pacific measures, who (however influenced by the counsels of Chauvelin) was convinced that the peace of Europe had been principally owing to the union between France and England, who appreciated the sentiments of Sir Robert Walpole as congenial to his own, and who from long habits of intimacy and confidence, had contracted a partiality for Horace Walpole, which he was unwilling to relinquish. He considered this alliance as a prelude to incessant bickerings and future contests; and, being well acquainted with the domineering spirit of the house of Austria, and the eagerness of Charles the Sixth, to obtain from all the powers of Europe, the guaranty of the pragmatic sanction, suspected that his assent to the treaty of Vienna was purchased with a promise on the part of England, to compel France to accede to that guaranty, and expressed in strong terms of indignation, his apprehension of secret articles derogatory to the interests of France.

The candid answer of the British cabinet, conveyed through the earl of Waldegrave, removed the jealousies of the cardinal. The king and cabinet in England, had now adopted, however unwillingly, the principles of the pacific minister, and De la Faye, under secretary of state, spoke the sentiments of Walpole, when he observed,  
 that



that no one but a person totally ignorant of the Chapter 38.  
 British constitution, could for a moment have en- 1730 to 1731.  
 tertained such an opinion. The king, he remark-  
 ed, could not engage in war without money, and  
 must apply to parliament for supplies, if such a  
 misfortune should occur. The parliament, who Removed.  
 spoke the voice of the nation, might be induced  
 to grant supplies for the purpose of keeping out  
 the Pretender, protecting merchants, preserving  
 trade, or maintaining Gibraltar; but it would  
 have been a monstrous conduct to propose an  
 annual supply of five millions for the purpose of  
 compelling France to guaranty the pragmatic sanc-  
 tion. The nation could never bear such a propo-  
 sition, and the minister who had the folly to make  
 it, would justly incur the indignation of the  
 people\*.

The earl of Waldegrave being recalled from Vi-  
 enna, it became necessary to depute a person of  
 confidence to that court, on whom the Walpoles  
 could no less implicitly depend; nor can a greater  
 proof of their superior ascendancy in the cabinet be  
 given, than that Mr. Robinson was the person who  
 was chosen to fill this important situation at this  
 critical juncture.

Thomas Robinson, afterwards knight of the Mission and  
 Bath, and lord Grantham, was fourth son of Sir character of  
 William Robinson, baronet, of the county of Mr. Robinson.  
 York, by Mary, daughter of George Aislaby, of  
 Studley

\* De la Faye to the earl of Waldegrave, August 16th, 1731. Cor-  
 respondence.

Period V. Studley Royal. He was brought up at Westminster school, and completed his education at Trinity College, Cambridge, of which he became a fellow in 1719. In 1723, he accompanied Horace Walpole as secretary to the embassy at Paris, and was distinguished by him with the highest marks of confidence and esteem; under his instructions, and from his example, he acquired a consummate experience in diplomatic concerns. During the absence of the ambassador, he was entrusted with the management of the English affairs in France, and conducted himself with so much address and ability, that he was not duped even by the affected candour of cardinal Fleury, nor deluded by the artifices of Chauvelin. Great command of temper, patience of contradiction, dignity of manner, frankness in receiving, and quickness in answering objections, rendered him peculiarly adapted to counteract the chicanery of the Imperial court, to soften the domineering and punctilious character of the Emperor Charles the Sixth, and to conciliate the discordant tempers of the four ministers of the conference\*. He continued at the court of Vienna from 1730 to 1748, when he was deputed ambassador and joint plenipotentiary with the earl of Sandwich, to conclude the peace of Aix la Chapelle.

His dispatches are clear and perspicuous, so explicit and descriptive, as to convey a faithful picture of the tempers and characters of those with whom

\* Prince Eugene, count Zinzendorff, count Staremburg, and the bishop of Bamberg.

whom he negotiated; and it was truly said of him, that he not only set down every word that was uttered in his conferences with the Imperial ministers, but noted even their looks and gestures. These interesting documents contain a copious, and almost uninterrupted narrative of the transactions between England and the court of Vienna, during a period of eighteen years, big with events, that threatened the downfall of the house of Austria, which was averted by the heroism of Maria Theresa, and the interposition of England. In 1742 he was made knight of the Bath, and soon after the conclusion of the peace of Aix la Chapelle, returned to England. He was successively appointed lord of trade, master of the great wardrobe, and secretary of state. In 1761 he was created a peer, by the title of lord Grantham, and died in 1770, aged seventy-three.

Chapter 38.

1730 to 1731.

## CHAPTER THE THIRTY-NINTH:

1731.

*Biographical Memoirs of William Pulteney.—Origin and Progress of his Misunderstanding with Walpole.*

**T**wo errors are principally to be avoided by an author, that undertakes to write the life of a minister, who directed, during so long a period, the helm of government, and whose conduct materially affected the interests of Great Britain



Period V. 1730 to 1734. and the fate of Europe: the first is such a bias of affection and partiality, as to draw a panegyric rather than a history; the second, an indiscriminate prejudice against those who headed the opposition; and who, because they were enemies to Sir Robert Walpole, have been held forth by his partisans as devoid of all principle, and using, in every instance, their reprobation to his measures, as a cloak for malice and rancour. This last is the usual error of biographers; yet it appears extraordinary to a candid mind, that in order to raise the character of one great man, it should seem necessary to debase all his opponents, and that no allowance should be made for difference of opinion, or inveterate habits and prepossessions. Because the party writers of opposition have loaded Walpole with invective, is it just to asperse his adversaries with equal virulence?

But in no instance has prejudice been carried to a greater height, than in drawing the character and conduct of Pulteney, the great leader of opposition. He, above all others, has been exposed to the fiery ordeal of party; not only by the friends of the minister whom he drove from the helm, but also by those who were once joined with him, and who, discontented at the disposal of offices on the change of administration, railed at their former leader, because they were not promoted to those places which they claimed as the reward of their long perseverance.

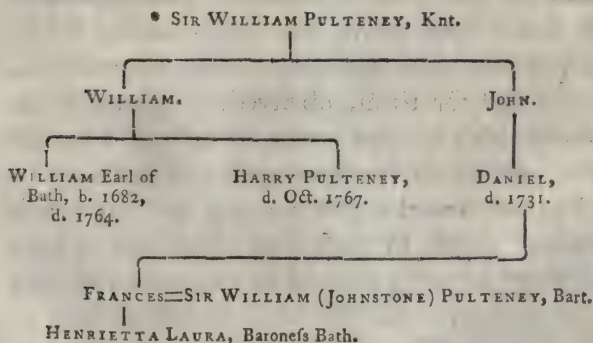
William

William Pulteney \* was descended from an ancient family, who took their surname from a place of that appellation in Leicestershire. His grandfather, Sir William Pulteney, was member of parliament for the city of Westminster, and highly distinguished himself in the house of commons for his manly and spirited eloquence.

Of his father, William Pulteney, I find little upon record, except his birth, marriage, and death.

William Pulteney †, his eldest son, was born in 1682, received his education at Westminster school, where he greatly improved in classical literature; and being removed to Christ Church, Oxford, so highly distinguished himself by his talents and industry, that he was appointed, by dean Aldrich, to make the congratulatory speech to queen Anne, on her visit to the college.

Having travelled through various parts of Europe, he returned to his native country, with a mind



† I am indebted to the kindness of the bishop of Salisbury (Dr. Douglas) for some of these anecdotes, which relate to the early part of Mr. Pulteney's life.

Period V. mind highly improved; and came into parliament  
 1730 to 1734 for the borough of Heydon, in Yorkshire, by the  
 interest of Mr. Guy, his protector and great benefactor.

Being descended from a Whig family, and educated in revolution principles, the young senator warmly espoused that party, and during the whole reign of queen Anne opposed the measures of the Tories.

He first spoke in the house on the place bill, which he warmly supported, and some amendments being made by the lords, the discussion, was, by the intervention of the ministry, postponed for three days; during which interval, means were found to gain over several who had opposed the bill, and the amendments seemed likely to be carried.

The young senator, indignant at this apostacy, and irritated that several had, in a few days, totally changed their opinions, animadverted in a few words on such political baseness and alluding to Sir James Montague\*, who after having distinguished himself in opposition to the amendments, now voted for them, observed, "Cerberes has received his sop, and barks no more;" a remark which struck the house as ready and pertinent.

He had formed a just notion, that no young member ought to press into public notice with too much forwardness, and fatigue the house with long orations, until he had acquired the habit of order and precision. He was often heard to declare,

\* Afterwards solicitor and attorney general.

clare, that hardly any person ever became a good orator, who began with making a set speech. He conceived that circumstances of the moment should impel them to the delivery of sentiments, which should derive their tenor and application from the course of the debate, and not be the result of previous study or invariable arrangement.

Pulteney and his partisans accused Walpole of *Fortune*, being "a wretch who could not raise £. 100 upon his own security;" in the same manner, the advocates of Walpole accused Pulteney, with equal injustice, of having received favours and bribes from the crown, and of ingratitude in forsaking the minister, to whom he owed great obligations. But both accusations were equally devoid of truth. Pulteney inherited from his father a very considerable estate, and had received from Henry Guy, the intimate friend of his grandfather, and guardian of his youth, and who had been secretary to the treasury, a legacy of £. 40,000, and an estate of £. 500 a year. He received also with his wife Anna Maria, daughter of John Gumley, of Isleworth, a very large portion, and increased this property, by the most rigid œconomy, which his enemies called avarice; but which did not prevent him from performing many acts of charity and beneficence.

During the whole reign of queen Anne, Pulteney uniformly espoused the side of the Whigs; and supported, both by his eloquence and fortune, the protestant succession in the house of Hanover. On the prosecution of Sacheverel, he ably distinguished

Parliamentary  
conduct.



Period V.

1730 to 1734.

guished himself in the house of commons, in defence of the revolution, against the doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance. When the Tories came into power, in 1710, he was so obnoxious to them, that his uncle, John Pulteney, was removed from the board of trade. He not only took a principal share in the debates of the four last years of queen Anne, while the Whigs were in opposition, but was also admitted into the most important secrets of his party, at that critical time, when the succession of the Hanover family being supposed to be in danger, its friends thought themselves obliged to engage in very bold enterprises to secure it. He was a liberal subscriber to a very unprofitable and hazardous loan, then secretly negotiated by the Whig party, for the use of the Emperor, to encourage him to refuse co-operating with the Tory administration in making the peace of Utrecht.

On the prosecution of Walpole for high breach of trust and corruption, Pulteney warmly vindicated his friend; and on his commitment to the Tower, was amongst those who paid frequent visits to the prisoner, whom he, with the rest of the Whigs, considered as a martyr to their cause\*. He also engaged with Walpole in defending the Whig administration, and wrote the ironical dedication to the earl of Oxford, prefixed to Walpole's account of the parliament, which I have before taken notice of.

Soon

• Pulteney's Answer.

Soon after the death of queen Anne, and before a message had been received from George the First, Pulteney, in answer to those who opposed the clause moved by Horace Walpole, for giving £.100,000 for apprehending the Pretender should he land, or attempt to land, in any of the king's dominions, observed, "That the protestant succession was in danger, as long as there was a popish Pretender, who had many friends both at home and abroad; that the late queen was sensible of that danger, when she issued her proclamation against him; and that the case was not altered by her demise: that the nation would be at no charge if the Pretender did not attempt to land, and if he did, £.100,000 would be well bestowed to apprehend him\*."

His parliamentary abilities and uniformity of conduct gave him a very honourable claim to distinction on the accession of George the First. Accordingly, on the king's arrival, and before a meeting of the new parliament, he was appointed privy counsellor and secretary at war, even in opposition to the inclination of the duke of Marlborough, who, as commander in chief, thought himself entitled to recommend to that post†. He was chosen a member of the committee of secrecy, nominated by the house of commons to examine and report the substance of the papers relating to the negotiation for peace; and on the suppression of the rebellion which broke out in Scotland, he moved for the impeachment of lord Widrington,

Appointed secretary at war.

\* Tindal, vol. 18. p. 298.

† Letter to Pulteney, p. 29.

Period V. Widrington, and opposed the motion to address  
 1730 to 1734. the king, for a proclamation, offering a general  
 pardon to all who were in arms in Scotland, who  
 should lay their arms down within a certain time.

He was at this period so much connected with Stanhope and Walpole, that in allusion to the triple alliance between Great Britain, France, and Holland, which was then negotiating by general Stanhope, secretary of state, they were called the three *grand allies*; and a proverbial saying was current “are you come into the triple alliance?” \*

Resigns.

But when Stanhope and Walpole took different sides, on the schism between the Whigs, when Townshend was dismissed, and Walpole resigned, Pulteney followed his friends example, and gave up his place of secretary at war.

Origin of his  
 disagreement  
 with Walpole.

When Walpole made a reconciliation between the king and the prince of Wales, and negotiated with Sunderland to form a new administration, in which he and lord Townshend bore the most conspicuous part, then were first sown those seeds of disgust and discontent which afterwards burst forth.

The causes of this unfortunate misunderstanding, may be traced from the authority of the parties themselves, or their particular friends. Pulteney was offended because Walpole had negotiated with the prince of Wales and Sunderland, without communicating the progress to him, although he had told it to Mr. Edgumbe,  
 who

\* Memoirs of the Life and Conduct of William Pulteney, esq;  
 p. 17.



who indiscreetly gave an account daily to Pulteney \* Chapter 39.  
1731.

Another cause of disgust was, that Pulteney, who had hitherto invariably proved his attachment to Townshend and Walpole, expected to receive some important employment, whereas he was only offered a peerage, and when he declined it, more than two years elapsed before any farther overtures were made; and though Pulteney at length solicited † and obtained the office of Made cofferer  
of the household  
cofferer

\* The account of this transaction is thus given by Pulteney himself, several years afterwards, when he was in the height of opposition. "You sent to him one day, as he was going out of town, desiring to speak with him, that, when he came, you told him of the reconciliation between the late k— and the then p— of W—; and that a bargain was made for those *Whigs*, who had resigned their employments, to be put in again by degrees. To this the gentleman replied, '*Who pray is it, that hath had authority to make this bargain?*' Your answer was, '*I have done it with the ministry, and it was insisted on that nobody but lord Townshend should know of the transaction.* Neither lord Cowper, the Speaker, nor any one else knew it; and therefore we hope you will not take it amiss, that it was kept secret from you.'—'Not I,' said the gentleman, '*but I think it very odd, that any one should presume to take a plenary authority upon himself, to deal for such numbers as were concerned, in an affair of this consequence.*'—'We have not,' said you again, '*had our own interests alone in view. We have bargained for all our friends, and in due time they will be provided for. I am to be, said you, at the head of the treasury. Lord Sunderland had a great desire to retain the disposition of the secret service money to himself; but I would by no means consent to that, knowing the chief power of a minister (and I presume his profit also) depends on the disposition of it.*' You named several others, who were to come into employments; and said to this gentleman, '*We know, Sir, that you do not value any thing of that kind; so we have obtained a peerage for you.*' It seems you did not, at that time, pretend that the gentleman either expected, or insisted on any employment; and therefore told him, that the king had consented to make him a peer. To this the gentleman replied with some warmth, '*Sir, if ever I should be mean enough to submit to being sold, I promise you that you shall never have the selling of me. A peerage is what, some time or other, I may be glad of accepting, for the sake of my family; but I will never obtain it by any base method, or submit to have it got for me on such terms by you.*' †

† Pulteney's Answer.

† An Answer to one Part of a late infamous Libel, intituled "Remarks on the Craftsman's Vindication of his Two honourable Patrons," p. 54, 55.



Period V. 1730 to 1734. cofferer of the household, in the room of the earl of Godolphin, who received a pension of £. 5,000 per annum to make way for him, he deemed that place far below his just expectations.

Chairman of  
the secret  
committee.

Notwithstanding, however, these secret causes of disgust, Pulteney continued to support the administration. On the communication of the plot in which bishop Atterbury was involved, he moved for an address to congratulate the king on the discovery of so dangerous and unnatural a confederacy. He was chairman of the committee appointed by the house of commons in the prosecution; and the report which he drew up on that occasion, is a master-piece of perspicuity and order. But the disdainful manner in which he conceived he had been treated by Walpole, had made too deep an impression on his mind to be eradicated. Finding that he did not possess the full confidence of administration, or disapproving those measures which tended, in his opinion, to raise the power of France on the ruins of the house of Austria, and which in his opinion sacrificed the interests of Great Britain to those of Hanover, topics on which he afterwards expatiated with great energy and unusual eloquence in parliament, he became more and more estranged from his former friends, and expressed his disapprobation of their measures both in public and private. At length, his discontent arrived to so great a height, that he declared his resolution of attacking the minister in parliament.

Joins opposition.

Walpole

Walpole perceived his error in disgusting so able an associate, and with a view to prevent his opposition to the payment of the king's debts, hinted to him in the house of commons, that at the removal of either of the secretaries of state, the ministers designed him for the vacant employment. To this proposal Pulteney made no answer, but bowed and smiled, to let him know he understood his meaning \*.

Chapter 39.  
1731.

Walpole attempts to conciliate him.

Pulteney now came forward as the great opposer of government, and his first exertion on the side of the minority, was on the subject of the civil list. A message being delivered from the king, April 8th, 1725. by Sir Robert Walpole, praying the commons to assist him in discharging the debts of the civil list, Pulteney moved for an address, that an account should be laid before the house, of all the monies paid for secret service, pensions, bounties, &c. from the 25th of March, 1725. This address being voted, April 9th. a motion was made for the house to go into a grand committee, to consider of the king's message; but Mr. Pulteney represented, "The house having ordered an address for several papers relating to the civil list, and other expences, they ought, in his opinion, to put off the consideration of the message, till those papers were laid before the house; it being natural to inquire into the causes of a disease, before remedies are applied." This being opposed by Walpole, Pulteney replied, "He wondered how so great a debt could be contracted in three years time;

\* Pulteney's Answer, p. 51.

Period V.  
1730 to 1734.

time ; but was not surpris'd some persons were so eager to have the deficiencies of the civil list made good, since they and their friends had so great a share in it ; and desired to know, whether this was all that was due, or whether they were to expect another reckoning ?" To this it was answered in general, " There was indeed a heavy debt on the civil list, and a great many pensions ; but most of these had been granted in king William and queen Anne's reign ; some by king Charles the Second, and very few by his present majesty. Since the civil list was first settled for his majesty, an expence of above £.90,000 per annum had happened, which could not then be foreseen, and therefore was left unprovided for. Upon examination of the account of the civil list debts, it would appear, that most of those expences were either for the necessary support of the dignity of the crown and government, or for the public good. There was indeed a pension of £.5,000 of another nature, upon the account of the cofferer's place, but which could not well be avoided, for both lord Godolphin, who was in that office, and his father, had so well deserved of the government, that they could not handsomely remove him without a gratuity, and therefore they gave him a pension of £.5,000 to make room for the worthy gentleman who now enjoys the post." \*

Pulteney oppos'd the motion in every step, until the third reading, when he voted for the payment

\* Tindal, vol. 19. p. 524, 525.



payment of the king's debts; and he himself thus accounts for his conduct in this particular: "The *late king* had of himself, or as he was advised by his *ministers*, frequently tried the *gentleman* on this point, and used to persuade him to be for it. He used all the arguments he could; urged to him all the motives he thought could possibly engage him, but all to no purpose. He continued inflexible. At length, the *king* said to him, *it is hard you will not let me be an honest man*. What would you, continued his majesty, *think yourself of one, who refused to pay his butcher, his baker, and other honest tradesmen?*—To this the gentleman replied, not a little affected with his majesty's last argument, *God forbid that he should prevent his majesty from acting such an honest part*. It was not his intention. *What he meant to do was consistent with his duty as a servant to his majesty, and agreeable to his duty as a representative of the people*. He meant only to expose that unnecessary profusion which had been made in secret service money, pensions, &c. That the money which should have paid his honest tradesmen, was by these means diverted. His view therefore was to get a censure of such practices, and to prevent their becoming precedents; nor had he any design of depriving the honest creditors of their just debts; and this was the reason, when he came to the last instance, why this gentleman voted for the question; which his majesty understood very well to be agreeable to the promise he had made, however mysterious it might appear to others, and which the gentleman was fully



Period V. fully persuaded to be just in itself, and consistent  
 1730 to 1734. with his duty as a *servant to the crown* \*.

Dismissed.

He was soon afterwards dismissed from his place of cofferer of the household, and from this period entered a systematic opposition to the minister. Pulteney proved himself so formidable, that Walpole again endeavoured to gain him over, and about the time of Townshend's resignation, queen Caroline † offered him a peerage, together with the post of secretary of state for foreign affairs, if he would again join his old coadjutor; but Pulteney rejected the offer, and declared his fixed resolution never again to act with Sir Robert Walpole.

Refuses to be  
 secretary of  
 state.

The most violent altercations passed in the house of commons between them; their heat against each other seemed to increase in proportion with their former intimacy, and neither was deficient in sarcastic allusions, violent accusations, and virulent invectives.

On the ninth of February, 1726, Pulteney, made a plausible motion for the appointment of a committee to state the public debts, as they stood on the 25th of December, 1714, with the debts which had been incurred since that time, till the 25th December 1725, distinguishing how much of the said debts had been provided for, and how much remained unprovided for by parliament. He was seconded by Daniel Pulteney, and supported by Sir Joseph Jekyl. In opposition, Wal-

pole

\* Answer to the Remarks on the Craftsman's Vindication of his Two honourable Patrons, p. 52, 53.

† From the earl of Orford. Life of bishop Newton.

pole endeavoured to shew, that such an inquiry was unreasonable and preposterous, and that it might give a dangerous wound to public credit at this critical juncture, when monied men were already too much alarmed by the appearances of an approaching war, urging, that in the present posture of affairs, the commons could not better express their love to their country, than by making good their promises and assurances, at the beginning of this session, and by raising, with the greatest dispatch, the necessary supplies, to enable the king to make good his engagements, for the welfare of his subjects, to disappoint the hopes of the enemies to his government, and to repel any insults that might be offered to his crown and dignity. Barnard, member for the city of London, confirmed the assertion of the minister, as to the danger of increasing the alarm of monied men, which had already so much affected public credit, that the stocks had within a few weeks fallen 12 or 14 per cent. Sir Thomas Pengelly having spoken for the motion, Walpole again replied; on which Pulteney declared, "He made this motion with no other view, than to give that *great man* an opportunity to shew his integrity to the whole world, which would finish his sublime character." To this Walpole answered, "This compliment would have come out with a better grace, and appeared more sincere, when that fine gentleman had himself a share in the management of the public money, than now he was out of

Period V.  
 1730 to 1734.

place.\* Such petulant altercations between these two able speakers, caused much dissatisfaction to those independent members who wished well to the Hanover line, and who generally supported or opposed all questions from conviction, without being influenced by party motives. This opposition of Pulteney was so apparently dictated by personal resentment, that several who would otherwise have considered the motion just and reasonable, voted against it. Many deemed it ill-timed, and calculated to hurt public credit, and to draw an odium on the house of commons, and accordingly supported the minister; for these reasons the motion was negatived by 262 against 89. †

Pulteney now placed himself at the head of the discontented Whigs. In conjunction with Bolingbroke, his ancient antagonist, he became the principal supporter of the Craftsman, to which paper he gave many essays, and furnished hints and observations.

Courted by foreign powers.

At this period, Pulteney was greatly courted by the foreign ministers of those powers who were displeased with the measures of the British cabinet, and by none more than by Palm, the Imperial ambassador, who caballed with opposition and endeavoured to overturn the ministry. ‡

The

\* Chandler.

† Thomas Brodrick to lord chancellor Midleton, February 10, 1726. Midleton Papers. Journals.

‡ Letter from Palm to the Emperor, December 17, 1726. Correspondence.

The controversy in 1731, which passed between Pulteney and Walpole's friends and pamphleteers, widened the breach, and rendered it irreparable. The Craftsman was full of invectives against Walpole, and the measures of his administration. In answer to this paper, a pamphlet was published under the title of *Sedition and Defamation Displayed*; in a letter to the author of the Craftsman, with a motto from Juvenal,

*Ande aliquid brevibus Gyaris, & carcere dignum,*

*Si vis esse aliquis.*—

It contained a violent, and, according to the spirit of the political pamphlets of the times, a scurrilous abuse of Pulteney and Bolingbroke. The character of Pulteney is portrayed in the colours of party, in a dedication to the patrons of the Craftsman; and his opposition is wholly attributed to disappointed ambition and personal pique. In answer to this pamphlet, which he supposed to be written by lord Hervey, the great friend and supporter of Sir Robert Walpole, he wrote, "*A proper Reply to a late scurrilous Libel, intitled Sedition and Defamation Displayed, in a Letter to the Author; by Caleb D'Anvers, of Gray's Inn, Esq.*"

In this pamphlet, Mr. Pulteney introduces the character of Sir Robert Walpole, which it must be confessed does not yield, either in scurrility or misrepresentation, to that of Pulteney, given in *Sedition and Defamation Displayed*.



Period V.

1730 to 1734.

In this publication, the author treated lord Hervey \* with such contempt, and lashed him with

\* John lord Hervey, eldest son of John the first earl of Bristol, was born in 1696. He came first into parliament soon after the accession of George the First; was appointed vice-chamberlain to the king in 1730; in 1733 was created a peer; and in 1740 was constituted lord privy seal, from which post he was removed in 1742. He died in 1743. He took a considerable share in the political transactions of the times, and was always a warm advocate on the side of Sir Robert Walpole. Tindal † has observed, "that history ought to repair the injury that party has done to some part of his character," and in fact, it is necessary; for never was man more exposed to ridicule, and lashed with greater severity, than lord Hervey has been exposed and lashed by the satirical pen of Pope. If we may credit the satirist, who has delineated his character under the name of *Sporus*, he was below all contempt; a man without talents, and without one solitary virtue to compensate for the most ridiculous foibles, and the most abandoned profligacy,

" Let *Sporus* tremble.—A. What that thing of silk,  
 " *Sporus*, that mere white curd of asses milk?  
 " Satire or sense, alas! can *Sporus* feel?  
 " Who breaks a butterfly upon a wheel?  
 " P. Yet let me flap this bug with gilded wings,  
 " This painted child of dirt, that stinks and sings, &c.  
 " Eternal smiles his emptiness betray,  
 " As shallow streams run dimpling all the way.  
 " Whether in florid impotence he speaks,  
 " And, as the prompter breathes, the puppet squeaks;  
 " Or at the ear of Eve, familiar toad,  
 " Half froth, half venom, spits himself abroad, &c.  
 " Amphibious thing! that acting either part,  
 " The trifling head, or the corrupted heart,  
 " Fop at the toilet, flatt'rer at the board,  
 " Now trips a lady, and now struts a lord.  
 " Eve's tempter thus the Rabbins have exprest,  
 " A cherub's face, a reptile all the rest,  
 " Beauty that shocks you, parts that none will trust,  
 " Wit that can creep, and pride that licks the dust."

However I may admire the powers of the satirist, I never could read this passage without disgust and horror; disgust at the indelicacy of the allusions, horror at the malignity of the poet, in laying the foundation of his abuse on the lowest species of satire, personal invective, and what is still worse, on sickness and debility. The poet has so much distorted this portrait, that he has in one instance made the object of his satire, what ought to have been the subject of his praise, the rigid abstinence to which lord Hervey unalterably adhered, from  
 the

with such ridicule, in allusion to his effeminate appearance, as a species of half-man and half-woman,

the necessity of preserving his health. Lord Hervey having felt some attacks of the epilepsy, entered upon, and persisted in a very strict regimen, and thus stopt the progress, and prevented the effects of that dreadful disease. His daily food was a small quantity of asses milk, and a flour biscuit; once a week he indulged himself with eating an apple: he used emetics daily. To this rigid abstemiousness, Pope malignantly alludes, when he says,

“ The mere white curd of asses milk.”

In short, I agree with the ingenious editor of Pope, “ Language cannot afford more glowing or more forcible terms to express the utmost bitterness of contempt. We think we are here reading Milton against Salmasius. The raillery is carried to the very verge of *railling*, some will say *ribaldry*. He has armed his muse with a scalping knife.”

May we not ask, with the same author, “ Can this be the nobleman whom Middleton, in his dedication to the History of the Life of Tully, has so seriously, and so earnestly praised, for his strong good sense, his consummate politeness, his real patriotism, his rigid temperance, his thorough knowledge and defence of the laws of his country, his accurate skill in history, his unexampled and unremitting diligence in literary pursuits, who added credit to this very history, as Scipio and Lælius did to that of Polibius, by revising and correcting it, and brightening it, (as he expresses it) by the strokes of his pencil?” May we not also ask, Is this the nobleman who wrote some of the best political pamphlets which appeared in defence of Walpole’s administration? who, though sometimes too florid and pompous, was a frequent and able speaker in parliament, and who, for his political abilities, was raised to the post of lord privy seal? In truth, lord Hervey possessed more than ordinary abilities, and much classical erudition; he was remarkable for his wit, and the number and appositeness of his repartees.

Although his manner and figure were at first acquaintance highly forbidding, yet he seldom failed to render himself, by his lively conversation, which Pope calls,

“ The well whipp’d cream of courtly common sense,”

an entertaining companion to those whom he wished to conciliate. Hence he conquered the extreme prejudice which the king had conceived against him, and from being detested, he became a great favourite. He was particularly agreeable to queen Caroline; as he helped to enliven the uniformity of a court, with sprightly repartees and lively sallies of wit.

His cool and manly conduct in the duel with Pulteney, proved neither want of spirit to resent an injury, or deficiency of courage in the hour of danger, and he compelled his adversary to respect his conduct, though he had satirised his person.

His defects were extreme affectation, bitterness of invective, prodigality of flattery, and great servility to those above him.

Period V. 1730 to 1734. woman, which Pope, in his character of Sporus, has no less illiberally adopted, that lord Hervey was highly offended, a duel \* ensued, and Pulteney slightly wounded his antagonist. It afterwards appeared that lord Hervey did not compose this pamphlet; and Pulteney acknowledged his mistake, and imputed it, without sufficient authority, to Walpole himself. †

As one great source of obloquy vented by the ministerial writers against Pulteney, was his junction with Bolingbroke, who, when driven from his country, had espoused the party of the Pretender, a letter by Bolingbroke appeared in the *Craftsman* of May 22, 1731, with the fictitious name of Old-castle, which, after heaping many charges on the minister, drew the characters of Pulteney and Bolingbroke in a most favourable light, and vindicated them from the imputations of the writers on the side of government.

This letter produced an answer, intituled, "*Remarks on the Craftsman's Vindication of his Two Honourable Patrons, in his Paper of May 22, 1731. Par nobile fratrum;*"

In which the two characters commended by the *Craftsman*, were attacked with increasing asperity, and

Horace, earl of Orford, has given a list of his political writings, in the catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors; and among the Orford Papers, are draughts of several of those pamphlets which were submitted to Sir Robert Walpole. Some are corrected by him, in others, the minister made considerable additions. See Warton's *Pope*, vol. 4. p. 44, 45, 46. *Opinions of Sarah duchess of Marlborough, Article, lord Hervey.*

\* An Account of the duel is given in a letter from Thomas Pelham to earl Waldegrave, January 28, 1731. *Correspondence*, Period V.

† It was written by Sir William Yonge, secretary at war, as he himself informed the late lord Hardwicke.



and Pulteney was loaded with the most virulent personal abuse, by ransacking his private life, prying into his domestic concerns and family transactions, by accusing him of acting solely from disappointment and revenge, of being governed by veteran Jacobites, of disrespect to the king, ingratitude to the minister, of sharing the bounties, and adding to the pensions of the crown, and of having obtained the fee-simple of £.9,000 per annum, by the favour, indulgence, and assistance of the minister, whom he had sworn to destroy.\* Perhaps he would have acted a more prudent and dignified part, in not making any reply to the invective of a party pamphlet; but, as he conceived it to have been written, or at least the materials to have been furnished by the minister, his indignation was roused, and he published an animated defence of himself and his own conduct, a work to which I have frequently alluded, as containing much curious information on the origin and progress of the quarrel between him and Walpole. It is styled, *An answer to One Part of a late infamous Libel, intituled, "Remarks on the Craftsman's Vindication of his Two Honourable Patrons;" in which the character and conduct of Mr. P. is fully vindicated.* Addressing it to Sir Robert Walpole, he says of the pamphlet in which he had been so indecently abused, "There are several passages of *secret* history in it, falsely stated and misrepresented, which could come from nobody but yourself. You might, perhaps, employ

" some

\* P. 37.



Period V. "some of your mercenaries to work them up for  
 1730 to 1734. "you; but the ingredients are certainly your  
 "own."

In the course of the defence, Mr. Pulteney gives us his account of the conversation about making him secretary of state, which he accuses Walpole of having disclosed, and misrepresented. And as Walpole had thrown out to him the bait of the secretaryship, to prevent, if possible, his opposing the payment of the king's debts, the secret history of that transaction, as far as Pulteney was concerned, is laid before the public. Having gone through that part of his defence, he proceeds, "Since now we are upon the heads of *secret history, which you have opened*, I must explain another point in this gentleman's defence, concerning the reconciliation between his late majesty and the present king, from whence it will appear, whether you or this gentleman was most greedy of employments, and who discovered the truest zeal for the honour of his present majesty."\* That part of his secret conversation which related to George the Second, then prince of Wales, is here subjoined.

"But pray, Sir (continued the gentleman) since you acquaint me with the terms you have made for me, what are those you have made for the P—, who hath acted so honourable and steady a part to those with whom he engaged, and who are now in opposition to the court? To this you answered with a sneer, *Why He is to go to court again, and he will have*

\* Answer to an infamous Libel, p. 53.

*have his DRUMS and his GUARDS, and such FINE THINGS.* At this the gentleman was astonished, and thought proper to press you a little further, by asking you, *whether the P— was to be left regent again, as he had been when the king went out of England?—*No, said you, *WHY SHOULD HE? What!* replied the gentleman, *have you stipulated for a share of royalty for yourself, on the king's departure, and is the P— to live like a private subject, of no consequence in the kingdom?—*The gentleman avers upon his honour, that your answer was this: *HE DOES NOT DESERVE IT.—WE HAVE DONE TOO MUCH FOR HIM; AND IF IT WAS TO BE DONE AGAIN, WE WOULD NOT DO SO MUCH.—*Upon this, the gentleman went directly to the P— (with whom he then had some credit) and humbly represented upon what terms the reconciliation was founded. He told him that he was sold to his *father's ministers*, by *persons* who considered nothing but *themselves* and their own interest, and were in haste to make their fortunes. This was thought by him to have had some weight, at that time, with the P—, though the gentleman did not think it proper to tell him the whole that had passed, and relate what you said of him in so ungrateful a manner.”\*

The disclosure of this secret conversation, and of the contemptuous expressions which Walpole is said to have uttered against the king, when prince of Wales, instead of irritating him against the minister, only raised his resentment higher against

Struck out of  
the list of privy  
counsellors.

\* Answer to an infamous Libel, p. 55, 56.

Period V.  
1730 to 1734.

against Pulteney. Franklin, the printer of the pamphlet, was arrested; Pulteney's name was struck out of the list of privy counsellor's, and he was put out of all commissions of the peace,\* measures which tendered to render the breach irreparable. Such was indeed the bitterness of party, and the animosity against the minister, that Pulteney does not hesitate to declare, that "the opposition had come to a determined resolution, not to listen to any treaty whatsoever, or from whomsoever it may come, in *which the first and principal condition should not be to deliver him up to the justice of the country.*" †

When such virulent invectives passed on both sides, it was hardly possible to suppose that any compromise could be effected. Pulteney continued invariably to oppose the measures of Walpole, and was principally instrumental in driving him from the helm of affairs. But although in the zeal of party, and in the warmth of debate, these two great men reviled each other with so much acrimony, yet even in the house of commons, they frequently entered into conversation on the most amicable terms; and as Pulteney always, though in opposition, sat on the treasury bench, these opportunities were very frequent, Dr. Pearce, bishop of Rochester, has recorded an anecdote of their easy manner of conversing, which reflects high honour on both parties.

"Mr. Pulteney sitting upon the same bench with Sir Robert Walpole in the house of commons,

\* Tindal, v. 20. p. 104.

† Mr. Pulteney's Answer, p. 47.

mons, said, " Sir Robert, I have a favour to ask of you." O my good friend Pulteney, said Sir Robert, what favour can you have to ask of me? It is, said Mr. Pulteney, that Dr. Pearce may not suffer in his preferment for being my friend. I promise you, returned Sir Robert, that he shall not. Why then I hope, said Mr. Pulteney, that you will give him the deanery of Wells. No, replied Sir Robert, I cannot promise you that for him, for it is already promised."

Sir Robert having afterwards obtained for him the deanery of Winchester, his friend Mr. Pulteney, congratulating him on his promotion, said to him, " Dr. Pearce, though you may think that others besides Sir Robert have contributed to get you that dignity, yet you may depend upon it, that he is all in all, and that you owe it entirely to his good-will towards you; and therefore, as I am now so engaged in opposition to him, it may happen, that some who are of *our* party may, if there should be any opposition for members of parliament at Winchester, prevail upon me to act there in assistance of some friend of our's; and Sir Robert, at the same time, may ask your assistance in the election for a friend of his own, against one whom we recommend. I tell you, therefore, beforehand, that if you comply with my request, rather than Sir Robert's, to whom you are so much obliged, I shall have the worse opinion of you. Could any thing be more  
generous



Period V. generous to the dean as a friend, or to Sir Robert, to whom in other respects he was a declared opponent?" \*

## CHAPTER THE FORTIETH:

1733.

*Walpole proposes to take Half a Million from the Sinking Fund, for the Service of the current Year.—Encroachments from its first Establishment to this Motion.—Opposition to the Bill.—Substance of the Reasons on both Sides.—It passes the House.—Subsequent Encroachments.—Beneficial Consequences which would have been derived from appropriating the Produce to the Liquidation of the Debt.—Ill Consequences of alienating it.—Motives which induced the Minister to take that Method of raising Supplies.*

THE last accounts which I had occasion to give of the parliamentary proceedings and domestic events, were carried down only to May 1730. The hopes of a division amongst the Whigs, and of the ministers, gave energy to the leaders of opposition; but the ill success of their exertions, and the uninterrupted prosperity of the country, during the two succeeding years, render the domestic history barren of events, and afford little worthy of mention in the life of the minister. But the sixth session of the third septennial parliament, which opened on the 17th of January 1733, is distinguished by two measures of Sir Robert Walpole; of which the first, to take half a million from the sinking fund, though contrary to the national interest, was carried by a large majority; and the second, which was the excise

excise scheme, though evidently calculated for the advantage of the country, met with such violent opposition, as induced the minister to relinquish it. Chapter 40.  
1733.

This chapter will be confined to the discussion of the important question concerning the alienation of the sinking fund; a measure which has incurred the bitter censure of most writers who have speculated on the subject of finance, and which seems to be the greatest blot in the administration of the minister. In this disquisition, I shall endeavour to state, the deviations from, and encroachments on the sinking fund, until it was finally perverted from its original use, and instead of being employed in the liquidation of the national debt, became a fund for the current service of the year; to shew the beneficial consequences which would have resulted from following the original design; and to consider the motives which induced the minister to counteract his own great establishment, and to entail a debt on the nation, which, if it could not have been entirely paid off, might at least have been considerably diminished.

When the house of commons passed an act for the establishment of a fund for applying the surplusses of duties and revenues to the liquidation of the national debt, called in subsequent acts the sinking fund, the words to appropriate them to that purpose were as strong as could be found, *to and for none other use, intent, or purpose whatsoever.* Origin of the sinking fund.

During

Period V. During the whole reign of George the First  
 1730 to 1734. it was invariably appropriated to its original  
 purposes, and rather than encroach upon it, money was borrowed upon new taxes, when the supplies in general might have been raised, by dedicating the surplusses of the old taxes to the current services of the year.\* Even in the infancy of the establishment, when its operations were necessarily very confined, great advantages were derived even from this small surplus; the national interest was immediately reduced from 6 to 5 per cent.; £.750,000 in old exchequer bills were paid off in 1719; and it appeared, by the report of the house of commons, that from 1717 to 1728, it had discharged £.2,698,416, and that its average amount was £.1,200,000.

Appropriated  
to other uses.

It no sooner attained this progressive power, that its operations were suspended. Between 1727 and 1733, several encroachments were made, either by alienating the taxes which yielded the surplusses, or by charging the interest of several loans upon the surplusses appropriated to the payment of the debt. But although this measure was in effect the same as depriving it of gross sums (there being no difference between taking the annual interest of a sum, and that sum itself) yet as these encroachments were not literally direct invasions of the fund, they seem to have met with little opposition.

However, in 1733 an open attack was made. Half a million being voted for the service of the ensuing year,

\* Price's Appeal on the National Debt. Sinclair, p. 106.

year, the minister proposed to take that sum from the sinking fund, and by that means to continue the land tax at one shilling in the pound; adding, that if this motion should be objected to, he should move for a land tax of two shillings in the pound, there being no other means of providing for the current expences.

This motion justly occasioned a long and violent debate, and the strength of the argument undoubtedly lay on the side of opposition. The whole substance of the reasons, which the minister could urge in defence of this violation of his own principles, was the necessity of giving ease to the landed interest, and the dread of the public creditors to have their debts discharged. On this occasion he advanced this remarkable position, that the situation of the country, and the case of the public creditors was altered so much since the establishment of the sinking fund, that the competition among them was not who should be the first, but who should be the last to be paid, an assertion, which none of the opposition ventured to contradict, and therefore may be considered as true. He also added, that although the sinking fund was established for the payment of the debts, yet it was still subject to the disposal of parliament; and whenever it appeared, that it could be more properly and beneficially applied to some other use, the legislature had a power, and ought to dispose of it in that manner.

On the other side, the opposition argued, that the sacred deposit for discharging the debts and abolishing



**Period V.** **1730 to 1734.** abolishing the taxes, ought not to be applied to any use, except in cases of extreme necessity, which were not now apparent; that the assenting to the motion was in fact robbing posterity of £.500,000, and the progressive interest of that sum, for a trifling ease to themselves. They reminded him of his inconsistency, in destroying his own darling project, and undermining the boasted monument of his own glory; and Sir John Barnard emphatically urged, "that the author of such an expedient must expect the curses of posterity."

These arguments, however, did not affect the decision of the house of commons. The influence of the minister, aided by the co-operation of the landed, monied, and popular interests, triumphed over opposition; and the motion was carried by a majority of 110 voices; 245 against 135.

**Farther encroachments.**

The practice of alienating the sinking fund having been once sanctioned by parliament, was continued without intermission. In 1734 £.1,200,000, or the whole produce of the year, was taken from it; in 1735 and 1736, it was anticipated and mortgaged. "Thus expired," observes Dr. Price, perhaps with more enthusiasm than truth, "after an existence of a few years, the sinking fund; that sacred blessing (as it was once thought) and the nation's only hope. Could it have escaped, it would long before this time have eased Britain of all its debts, and left it safe and happy."

**Speculations on the subject.**

In regard to the beneficial consequences which must have resulted from the due administration

of the sinking fund, many words are not wanting to prove that point. Without estimating the advantages as highly as the opponents of the minister, or Dr. Price, it may fairly be inferred, from the statement of Walpole himself, that had the produce been applied to that purpose, from its first establishment in 1716 to 1739, the year in which the war with Spain commenced, more than 20 millions of the national debt might have been easily paid off, whereas only £.7,190,740 were discharged.\*

The ill consequences of alienating the sinking fund are so evident, that it is not my intention to justify Sir Robert Walpole; on the contrary, he deserves and has sufficiently incurred the censure of posterity. But while we blame this conduct in its full latitude, let us not follow the example of those speculative writers, who do not sufficiently weigh existing circumstances, neglect to consider the temper of the times and the situation of the country, and who judge of the measures pursued by government in 1733, from those which have been pursued in subsequent times. In justice to  
the

\* The opposition computed, but on very erroneous calculations, that at Christmas 1733, £.25,000,000 might have been paid off more than had been discharged, and Dr. Price observes, "Had it, from the year 1732, been allowed to increase beyond this (except from the interest of debts paid by it.) and been applied for the first twenty-five years to the payment of debts, bearing 4 per cent. interest, and afterwards to the payment of debts, bearing 3 per cent. it would (in the present year 1781) have completed the redemption of more than one hundred and sixty millions of debt, leaving the public, during this whole period, in possession of all the surpluses which have arisen in the revenue beyond £.1,212,000, except those produced by redemptions." Price on Annuities, vol. 1. p. 220.

Period V. the memory of a minister, who seems to have sacrificed every object for the preservation of interior tranquillity and external peace, let us consider the motives which induced him to propose the alienation of the sinking fund, which cannot be better illustrated than in the words of a very judicious writer on finance.

“ These steps of administration I neither censure or approve of. I must suppose every statesman to have good reasons for doing what he does, unless I can discover that his motives are bad. May not the landed interest, who composed the parliament, have insisted upon such a diminution of their load; May not the proprietors of the public debts have insisted, on their side, that no money out of the sinking should be thrown into their hands, while the bank was making loans upon the land and malt duties at 3 per cent.? Might not the people have been averse to an augmentation of taxes? When three such considerable interests concur in a scheme, which in its ultimate though distant consequences, must end in the notable prejudice of perpetuating the debts, although opportunities offer to diminish them, what can government do? They must submit; and, which is worse, they cannot well avow their reasons.

“ Such combinations must occur, and frequently too, in every state loaded with debts, where the body of the people, the landlords, and the creditors, find an advantage in the non-payment

ment of the national debt. It is for this reason, I imagine, the best way to obviate the bad consequences of so strong an influence in parliament, would be, to appropriate the amount of all sinking funds in such a manner, as to put it out of a nation's power to misapply them, and by this means force them either to retrench their extraordinary expences, or to impose taxes for defraying them." \*

These observations are perfectly just, and consonant to the spirit and temper of the times; nor did any measure of Walpole's administration more conciliate the favour of the landholders, monied men, and people, than the alienation of the sinking fund, so justly deprecated by posterity, yet so much applauded by his contemporaries.

For a long period after the accession of George the First, the greater part of the landed interest uniformly opposed government. With a view to ingratiate the new family with these persons, who formed a large party in the house of commons, the minister lowered the land tax to three and then to two shillings in the pound; this measure effectually galled opposition, brought over many friends to government; and it was truly said by Henry Pelham, in the house of commons, "Gentlemen may talk as they please of what was done in last session of parliament; but I can say, that in all places where I have since been, I have had the pleasure

\* Stewart's Political Economy, vol. 2; page 391.



Period V. 1730 to 1734. pleasure of receiving the thanks of the people, for the ease then given to the landed interest; and whatever gloss may now be put upon that affair, yet I know that some gentlemen, who appeared against it, were heard to say at the time that affair was mentioned, it will please the country too much, and therefore we must endeavour to render it abortive. I will, indeed, do the gentlemen the justice to believe that they then spoke as they thought; and they then did what they could to prevent the success of a design, by which his majesty's administration has gained the favour and the esteem of the generality of the landholders in England." \*

The monied men were no less satisfied. The minister himself informs us of their principles: "The sinking fund" he says, "was now grown to a great maturity, produced annually about £.1,200,000, and became almost a terror to all the individual proprietors of the public debts. The high state of credit, the low rate of interest, and the advanced price of the stocks and funds *above par*, made the great monied companies, and all their proprietors, apprehend nothing more than being obliged to receive their principals too fast; and it became almost the universal consent of mankind, that a million a year was as much as the creditors of the public could bear to receive, in discharge of part of their principal." †

As

\* Chandler, vol. 7, p. 295.

† Some Considerations on the Public Funds, p. 56.

As to the people at large, it is always more agreeable to them to defray the current expences by alienating a sinking fund, than by imposing a new tax. Every tax is felt, soon occasions murmurs, and meets with some opposition. In proportion as the taxes are multiplied, two difficulties arise; the people more loudly complain of every new impost, and it becomes more difficult to find out fresh subjects of taxation, or to augment the old levies. But a temporary suspension of the payment of the debt is not felt, and occasions neither murmurs or complaint. To borrow therefore from the sinking fund is always an obvious expedient for raising supplies \*, and has never been known to create a national ferment.

The minister must have been more than man, had he preferred the blessings of posterity to the curses of his own age, or sacrificed present ease to the dread of remote evils.

Yet, after making due allowance to the temper of the times, and the situation of parties, the measure itself cannot be justified; the warmest admirers of the minister must allow, that it is a dark speck in his financial administration.

The sagacious mind of Walpole, might have discovered some method of satisfying the public creditors, while he paid them off; he might have conciliated present advantage with the benefit of posterity, combined his own interest with that of the

\* Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, vol. 3. p. 418.

Period V. the people, and by confining himself to a partial  
 1730 to 1734. alienation, have rendered it a temporary, and not  
 a permanent evil. \*

## CHAPTER THE FORTY-FIRST.

1733.

*Origin and Progress of the Excise.—Object of Walpole's Scheme.—Arts of Opposition.—Parliamentary Proceedings.—Speech of Walpole.—Bill abandoned.—Views and Conduct of Opposition.—Influence of Walpole.—Removals and Promotions.—Prorogation of Parliament.*

I AM now arrived at that important period in the life of Sir Robert Walpole, which relates to what is usually called the EXCISE SCHEME, or in other words, the plan for subjecting the duties on wine and tobacco to the laws of excise; a measure which raised a great ferment in the nation, because it was perverted by the malignant spirit of party, and was not thoroughly understood by sober and impartial persons; but which reason, and the disinterested voice of posterity has sanctioned and justified.

Tucker's Eulogium of the excise scheme.

On this subject, a judicious writer †, who well understood the principles of commerce, has observed, “ Without entering into a defence of all parts

\* For the history and alienation of the sinking fund have been consulted, An Enquiry into the Conduct of our Domestick Affairs from the year 1721 to 1734: Supposed to be written by Mr. Pulteney, page 33 to 55. An answer to that pamphlet, intitled, Some Considerations concerning the Publick Funds, written by Sir Robert Walpole, page 8 to 81. Price on Annuities, vol. 1. p. 185 to 223. Sinclair on the Revenue, vol. 1. p. 99 to 101. Smith's Wealth of Nations, vol. 3 p. 410. Stuart's Political Economy, vol. 2.

† Tucker's Elements of Commerce and Theory of Taxes, p. 148, a book printed but not published.

parts of his conduct, I am persuaded that impartial posterity will do him the justice to acknowledge, that if ever a statesman deserved well of the British nation, Sir Robert Walpole was the man.

Indeed, the only true way of discovering, whether we are advancing or retreating in our political and commercial capacity, is to compare the past with the present, and to examine whether we have the same quantity of pernicious taxes, and monopolizing patents, as we had formerly. If we have not, it is our business to be thankful for the deliverance we have received, and to unite our endeavours to be freed from the remainder. This is real patriotism and public spirit.

“ One of the great merits of Sir Robert Walpole, and in which perhaps no minister ever approached him, was that of simplifying the taxes, abolishing the numerous petty complicated imposts which checked commerce and vexed the fair trader, and substituting in their stead more equal and simple.

“ But to omit matters of lesser note, the wisest proposal to relieve the nation was the Excise Scheme, by means of which the whole island would have been one general FREE PORT, and a *magazine* and *common storehouse* for all nations.

“ It was not indeed a perfect scheme at its first appearance; but the foundation was good, and a few alterations would have rendered it a most useful institution for the purposes of national commerce. But the business of those times was not to alter, mend, or improve, but to op-



Period V. pose, and to raise a ferment. But even in its  
 1730 to 1734. most imperfect state it would have defeated the  
 views of monopolists, and have proved of great  
 national advantage. If the bill had been so worded  
 as to be only *permissive* not *compulsory*, every man  
 in this kingdom would have made the excise  
 scheme his own choice, that is, he would have  
 preferred the method of putting his goods in a  
 warehouse, and paying the duties as he wanted  
 them, rather than paying the duties all at once  
 at the custom house. As a proof of this, let it  
 be observed, that the very men who made the  
 loudest clamour against the excise scheme, in a  
 few years petitioned for a much worse, the pre-  
 sent law relating to tobacco; which is allowed  
 on all hands to be an excise scheme in effect, and  
 to have inconveniences, which the excise scheme  
 had not. But to give some salvo to the matter, the  
 word *Permit* is changed to that of *Certificate*.” \*

Either the excise scheme was not such as it is  
 here explained, or the opposition to it was founded  
 on principles of error, misrepresentation, and party.  
 Let me then be permitted to consider by what  
 means the nation in general was induced to give  
 such a decided resistance to the bill, and to make  
 as public and as loud rejoicings when it was re-  
 liquished, as upon the most glorious national vic-  
 tory ever gained over our enemies in times of the  
 greatest danger,

In

In attempting to develop these causes, it may be expedient to trace the history of the excise from its first introduction into England, until the opening of Walpole's scheme.

Chapter 41.

1733.

The first attempt to impose it was made in 1626, by a commission under the great seal, issued to thirty-three lords and others of the privy council, but the parliament having remonstrated, it was judged by both houses contrary to law, and the commission accordingly cancelled by the king.\* So odious was the very name, that if we may credit Howel, Sir Dudley Carleton, then secretary of state, having only named it in the house of commons, with a view to shew the happiness which the people of England enjoyed above other nations, in being exempted from that imposition, was suddenly interrupted, called to the bar, and nearly sent to the Tower.†

During the civil wars in 1641, parliament ventured to impose an excise on beer, ale, cyder, and perry; but although they pleaded absolute necessity in excuse for this expedient, and continued it only from month to month; yet the execution of it raised riots in London. The populace burnt down the excise house in Smithfield, and nothing but a standing army, adds the Craftsman, would have forced it upon the people at that time, when they were greatly disaffected to the king and favourable to the parliament‡.

Although Charles the First, in one of his declarations, charged parliament with imposing insupport-

\* Craftsman, N° 333.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

Period V. 1730 to 1734. supportable taxes and odious excises upon their fellow subjects; yet he was afterwards under the necessity of recurring to the same expedient. Accordingly, excises were laid on by both parties, though both of them declared that they should be continued only till the end of the war, and then abolished.

Soon afterwards the parliament imposed it on sugar, butcher's meat, and on so many other commodities, that it might justly be called general, in pursuance of a plan, laid down by Pym, in a letter to Sir John Hotham; "That they had proceeded to the excise in many particulars, and intended to go farther; but that it would be necessary to use the people to it by little and little." \*

At the restoration, the excise was abolished on all articles of consumption, except beer and ale, cyder and perry, which produced a clear revenue, according to Davenant, of £.666,383. These duties were divided into two equal portions; the one called the hereditary excise, because granted to the crown for ever, in recompense for the court of wards, purveyance, and the levies abolished by act of parliament; the other the temporary excise, because granted only for the life of the king.

On the accession of James the Second, parliament not only renewed the temporary excise for his life, but also increased it by additional duties

no

\* Craftsman, N<sup>o</sup> 333, 1773. Appendix. Blackstone, B. 1. C. 8. Clarendon.

on wines, vinegar, tobacco, and sugar, which however were suffered to expire.

The immediate effects of the revolution were to diminish the excises, supposed to be of a nature peculiarly obnoxious to the spirit and principles of the constitution. But the necessity of raising money to defend our religion and liberties became so urgent, that even this species of imposition was adopted. Excise on salt, on the distillery, and on malt, since known by the name of the malt tax, were then first introduced; an additional excise on beer produced alone £.450,000, and the sums raised by those duties, during the reign of William, amounted to £.13,649,328, or nearly a million per annum.

But so great were the necessities which the war on the Spanish succession intailed on the nation, during the reign of queen Anne, that the aversion to the excise did not prevent additional duties on several articles of consumption, and it produced in her reign £.20,859,311, or nearly £.1,738,275 per annum.

During the whole reign of George the First, no excise was laid on, except a small duty on wrought plate, under the administration of Sunderland. But the internal tranquillity of the country, and the exemption from foreign war, increasing the produce of the taxes, the excise yielded, in 13 years, £.30,421,451, or about £.2,340,000 per annum. Its unpopularity however was not abated by long usage, and the laws for the collection were necessarily so severe, and so



Period V. often exercised in preventing frauds and punishing  
 1730 to 1734 smuggling, that they were considered by many  
 persons as encroaching on private property and  
 personal liberty.

Public aver-  
 sion to the  
 excise.

Such were the prejudices conceived against the  
 excise, that the principal writers on finance, go-  
 vernment, and trade, from the revolution to the  
 period under consideration, almost uniformly con-  
 demn it; and a plausible notion prevailed, that as  
 the real income of every country originates from  
 the land, all taxes should be at once imposed on  
 landed property.\*

Even Davenant, who well understood the nature  
 of taxes in general, and has so ably written on  
 public credit, was deceived in this particular.  
 Because at that time the excise had the effect of  
 sinking the price of the subject excised instead of  
 raising the price of the produce †, he concluded  
 that all excises fall ultimately upon the land, and  
 proposed, as more equitable, the poll tax and  
 land tax.

The authority of Locke also contributed to  
 spread the same notion, and his opinion against  
 the establishment of the excise, was quoted with  
 due effect by the Craftsman. That great philo-  
 sopher, whose writings tended so much to expand  
 and enlighten the human mind, had without due  
 consideration asserted, that all impositions on ar-  
 ticles

\* For a refutation of this system, see Smith's *Wealth of Nations*.  
 Neckar on Finances, vol. 1. c. 6. Steuart's *Political Economy*.  
 Sinclair, vol. 2. p. 113.

† The excise upon malt had the effect of lowering the price of bar-  
 ley, instead of raising the value of beer. Steuart's *Political Economy*,  
 vol. 2. p. 362.

ticles of consumption fell ultimately upon land. Chapter 41.  
 The natural consequence therefore of that position 1733.  
 was, that any additional duties on wine and tobacco could not ultimately ease the landholder, and therefore could not fulfil the intention held forth to the country gentlemen, as an argument in favour of the bill.

This system, though exploded \* by a more intelligent age, had a surprising influence on all ranks and descriptions of men at that time, when the principles of commerce and taxation were little understood, and less followed. The opposition laid great stress on this argument; and in conformity to the existing opinion, Sir William Wyndham did not scruple to declare it, "as demonstrable as any proposition in Euclid, that if we actually paid a land tax of ten shillings in the pound, without paying any other excises or duties, our liberties would be much more secure, and every landed gentleman might live at least in as much plenty, and might make a better provision for his

\* Sir John Sinclair has, in a few words, ably shewn the absurdity of imposing all the taxes on land. "Were it admitted, though it can hardly be seriously maintained in a commercial country, that the whole income of the nation arose from the cultivation of the soil, yet still, by imposing duties on consumptions, a greater revenue may be raised, than by a direct tax on land. By the latter method you only tax the proprietor of the soil, who has only a certain portion of the produce, and a considerable part of which is necessarily taken from him for the subsistence of others. Whereas by the former method, the public shares in the profits of those individuals who derive any benefit from the soil by any means, whether directly or indirectly. And hence, whilst the tax of four shillings in the pound on land is severely felt by many individuals in England, though it yields only two millions per annum, a tax on barley, in all its various stages of consumption, to the amount of above three millions and a half, is levied without murmur." Sinclair on the Revenue, vol. 2. p. 113.

Period V. his family, than under the present mode of taxation." 1730 to 1734.

Walpole's motives for extending it.

On the contrary, the sagacity of Walpole led him to perceive, that a tax on landed property was a greater burthen to the subject than taxes on articles of consumption. He was fully aware, that the excise laws obstruct the operations of the smugglers more effectually than the laws of the customs; that the method of levying taxes in use, was more burthensome upon trade, and more expensive to the merchants, than the raising of them by excise, and that it would be more beneficial to commerce, and would considerably increase the revenue, if all, or the greater part of the customs were converted into excises. But as he well knew the aversion which the nation entertained against the excise, and as he was unwilling to deviate from his own great principle of government, *not to rouse things which are at rest*, he proposed gradually to introduce his plan by abolishing the land tax, and substituting other methods, until he could venture to come forwards with the proposal of his great scheme for extending the excise.

With this view he made an alteration in the duties on coffee, tea, and chocolate, by abolishing the import duties, and subjecting them to inland duties, and to the same mode of collection as is practised in the excise. But as he still suffered them to be levied as customs, and prudently omitted to mention the word excise, this amendment met with no opposition, and increased

creased the duties on tea, coffee, and chocolate about £. 120,000 a year.\*

Chapter 41.  
1733.

For the same purpose he proposed the revival of the salt duty, which had been abolished in 1729, because he conceived, that a revival of excise duties on commodities formerly subjected to that mode of collection, would not be regarded with so jealous an eye, as a new impost in the same line.

Revives the  
salt duty.

But though he thus endeavoured to conceal his intended purpose, yet the opposition penetrated his scheme; in the debate which took place on that subject, they first threw down the gauntlet, and dwelt with unabated energy on the apprehensions of a general excise, as the war whoop to spread an alarm throughout the country, and as the death warrant of national liberty. It was then that, provoked by the petulance of his adversaries, and entertaining too great a contempt of their arguments, with more spirit than judgment, and with more attention to the dictates of truth, than to the temper of the times, he anticipated the intended mention of his extensive views, and laid down the great plan before it was sufficiently matured, and before the nation was able to consider and

\* The difference between the customs and excise is thus defined by Sir Robert Walpole himself. "The duties known by the name of customs are certain rates imposed by authority of parliament upon all commodities imported from abroad, which rates are either to be paid by the importer, upon the entry at importation, with different allowances and discounts for prompt payment, or they must be secured by bond, payable in a certain number of months, and, as well as the duties paid down, are repaid and drawn back again upon re-exportation, as the bonds given, vacated and discharged; or in short, customs are duties paid by the merchant, upon *importation*: Excises, duties payable by the retail trader upon consumption." Orford Papers.



Period V.

1730 to 1734.

and appreciate its excellence. He unequivocally declared, that the land tax was the most unequal, most grievous, and the most oppressive tax ever known in this country; a tax not to be raised but in times of the greatest necessity; and in answer to those who opposed the revival of the salt duties, because it was partly levied under the excise, he ventured to declare, that an excise is only a word for a tax levied in a different manner. He added, "If it be found by experience, that the present method of raising our taxes is more burthenfome upon our trade, and more inconvenient and expensive than the excise, I see no manner of reason why we should be frightened by these two words, 'general excise,' from changing the method of collecting the taxes we now pay, and choosing that which is most convenient for the trading part of the nation."\*

This manly avowal of his sentiments in favour of the excise laws, was naturally deemed by opposition the prelude to his adoption of them, and magnified into a scheme for a general excise all the necessaries of life.

Aware of having prematurely advanced notions which the age could not comprehend, a pamphlet was published on this subject, under his auspices, intitled, "*Some general Considerations concerning the Alteration and Improvement of the Revenues*;" in which an attempt was made to inform the people, that the scheme was founded on the first principles of commerce and taxation, and

in

\* Chandler.

in no degree derogatory from the liberties of the subject. Chapter 41.

But in this progressive plan he was baffled by 1733.  
Efforts of  
Opposition. opposition, who employed against him all the powers of wit and eloquence, which they possessed in so abundant a degree; and it must be confessed the scheme was not defended with equal energy and spirit. The nation took the alarm; and before the scheme was understood, even before it was formally proposed, the writers in opposition, more particularly the Craftsman, delineated such a hideous picture of the EXCISE, as raised among the people the most terrible apprehensions. These weekly essays, collected and published under the title of "*Arguments against Excises*," contributed to pervert the judgment, and excite the rage of the deluded multitude. Against the united shafts of sophistry, wit, and ridicule, adapted to the prejudices and conceptions of the people, the weapons of sober truth and reason had no effect.

The grand object of the bill was to give ease to the landed interest, by the total abolition of the land tax; to prevent frauds; to decrease smuggling; to augment the revenue; to simplify the taxes, and facilitate the collection of them at the least possible expence. Object of the  
scheme.

The great outlines of the plan were, to convert the customs into duties of excise, and to meliorate the laws of the excise in such a manner, as to obviate their abuses or oppressions.

Period V. 1730 to 1734 Such were the object and general outlines of the plan. The specific propositions were, to divide the commodities into taxed and not taxed, and to confine the taxed commodities to a few articles of general consumption. To comprehend among the untaxed commodities, the principal necessities of life, and all the raw materials of manufacture. The free importation of the necessities of life would, by rendering those necessities cheaper, reduce the price of labour. The reduction of the price of labour would diminish the price of home manufactures, and increase thereby the demand in all foreign markets, by underselling those of other nations. The free importation of raw materials would reduce the price of manufactures, and the cheapness of the goods would secure both the home consumption, and a great command in the foreign markets; and it was this regulation which induced Tucker to say, that by means of this scheme the whole island would become *one general FREE PORT*.

So much for the commodities untaxed. But even the trade of the taxed commodities would be augmented, and both the foreign and home trade would enjoy considerable advantages. The foreign trade would be benefited, because the commodities delivered out of the warehouse for exportation, being exempted from all imposts, would be perfectly free; and the carrying trade, under these regulations, would be highly increased. The home trade would be benefited, because the im-

9

porter,

porter, not being obliged to advance the duty on the commodities delivered for interior consumption, until he disposed of his goods, would afford to sell them cheaper, than if he had been obliged to advance the duty at the moment of importation.

Such, according to the opinion of a very judicious writer \*, was the object of the famous excise scheme.

Preparatory to its introduction, a committee had been appointed to inspect into the frauds and abuses committed in the customs; and on the 7th of June, 1732, Sir John Cope, the chairman, presented their report to the house. Though it was of infinite importance, and of so great length as to comprize, when printed, 103 pages in folio; yet the committee were so sensible that they had not fully explored all the recesses of fraud, and had left great part of their task unaccomplished, that they accompanied this elaborate document with an apology for its imperfections, in which they observed, that the shortness of the session would not allow them to make it so complete as they might otherwise have done, and that the number and intricacy of the various frauds, rendered a thorough disquisition almost impracticable.

In this report they adverted to the frauds committed by traders in tobacco, tea, brandy, and wine, and in the course of it displayed scenes of disho-

\* Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, vol. 3. p. 358.



Period V.  
1730 to 1734.

dishonesty, perjury, informing, violence, and murder, which would appear to sanction almost any measure, however violent, by which so horrible a stigma could be removed from the mercantile body, and from the fiscal laws of the country. It was proved by undeniable evidence, that by perjury, forgery, and the most impudent collusion, in the article of tobacco, the revenue was frequently defrauded to the amount of one third of the duties, and that in many cases, an allowance had been dishonestly obtained, as a drawback on re-exportation, exceeding the sum originally received by government, which in the port of London only, sustained by these means a loss of £.100,000 per annum. The smuggling of tea and brandy was conducted so openly and so audaciously, that since Christmas 1723, a period only of nine years, the number of custom house officers beaten and abused amounted to 250; and six had been murdered. 251,320 pounds weight of tea, and 652,924 gallons of brandy had been seized and condemned; and upwards of 2,000 persons prosecuted. 229 boats and other vessels had been condemned, 185 of which had been burnt, and the remainder retained for the service of the crown. The smuggling of wine was managed with so much art, or the connivance of the revenue officers so effectually secured, that within the period of nine years, only 2,208 hogsheads had been condemned, though it appeared, from depositions on oath, that in the space of two years, 4,738 hogsheads had been run in Hampshire,

shire, Dorsetshire, and Devonshire only, and on inquiry, 30 officers were dismissed, and informations entered against 400 persons; 38 were committed to jail, 118 admitted evidence, and 45 had compounded.

Notwithstanding the facts contained in this report, and the endeavours used to enlighten the public mind, the opposition had been so assiduous and successful in the dissemination of slander and suspicion, that they looked forward with impatience to the introduction of the minister's plan, as the certain means of triumph to them, and of disgrace to him: Indeed, considering the nature of the contest, they could hardly be thought too sanguine in their expectations of the event. The members of any administration proposing measures for giving additional strength to government, for restraining the turbulent, or suppressing fraud, are open to every species of calumny, assailable by all the weapons of eloquence, wit, ridicule, personality, and misrepresentation; while in their defence, they are restricted to the use of those topics which make their impression only by force of time and experience. The majesty of argumentative eloquence, and the glare of wit, are undervalued, when eloquence is supposed to be biassed by interest, and wit is divested of personality and caustic satire, which alone can make it pleasing to the multitude.

The writers in the interest of opposition had sounded the trumpet of alarm from one end of the kingdom to the other: they asserted that the minister's plan would not tend to prevent fraud,

Period V. 1730 to 1734 decrease smuggling, or augment the revenue; but would destroy the very being of parliament, undermine the constitution, render the king absolute, and subject the houses, goods, and dealings of the subject, to a state inquisition. They represented the excise as a monster feeding on its own vitals; and compared it to the Trojan horse, which contained an army in its belly.

Having by these means agitated the public mind to a frenzy of opposition, the enemies of the minister were anxious to follow their advantage, and to urge him to bring forward his plan before the people had leisure for sober reflection. London, and many places in the country, had given express instructions to their representatives, to oppose the excise scheme in all its forms, and to use every method to impede its progress; and the members were so anxious to shew that they had not been unmindful of these dictates, that they seized every opportunity, long before the measure was officially announced to the house, of adding to the impressions of horror already entertained against it.

Proceedings  
in parlia-  
ment.

On the opening of the session, the king, in his speech from the throne, recommended to the house, *that in all their deliberations, as well upon raising the annual supplies, as the distribution of the public revenues, they should pursue such measures as would most conduce to the present and future ease of their constituents.* In another part of his speech, he admonished them *to avoid unreasonable heats and animosities, and not suffer themselves to be diverted by any specious*



*specious pretences, from steadfastly pursuing the true interest of the country.*

Chapter 41.

1733.

On the motion for the address, Sir John Barnard made these observations. “ The honourable gentleman who moved the address, proposes for us to say, *That we will raise the supplies in such manner as will most conduce to the present and future ease of the subject.* Now, there seems to be a great jealousy without doors, as if something were intended to be done in this session of parliament, that may be destructive to our liberties, and detrimental to our trade : from whence this jealousy hath arisen, I do not know ; but it is certain that there is such a jealousy among all sorts of people, and in all corners of the nation ; and therefore, we ought to take the first opportunity to quiet the minds of the people, and to assure them that they may depend upon the honour and integrity of the members of this house ; and that we will never consent to any thing that may have the least appearance of being destructive to their liberties, or detrimental to their trade ; for which reason, I move that these words, *and such as shall be consistent with the trade, interest, and liberty of the nation,* may be added as an amendment.”

In support of this amendment, Shippen observed, “ It is certain that there are great fears, jealousies, and suspicions without doors, that something is to be attempted in this session of parliament, which is generally thought to be destructive to the liberties and to the trade of



Period V.  
1730 to 1734.

“ this nation. There is at present a most remarkable and general spirit among the people for protecting and defending their liberties and their trade, in opposition to those attempts which they expect are to be made against both : from all quarters we hear of meetings and resolutions for that purpose ; and this spirit is so general, that it cannot be ascribed to any one set of men : they cannot be branded with the name of Jacobites or republicans ; no ; the whole people of England seem to be united in this spirit of jealousy and opposition.”

Walpole, in reply, disclaimed any knowledge of a design to injure the trade of the nation, and said, “ If the people are hampered or injured in their trade, they must feel it, and they will feel it before they begin to complain ; in such case it is the duty of this house, not only to hear their complaints, but, if possible, to find out a remedy. But the people may be taught to complain ; they may be made to feel imaginary ills, and by such practices they are often induced to make complaints before they feel any uneasiness.” He did not, however, oppose the amendment, and it was carried.

This was only a prelude to several other skirmishes which took place before the grand attack. In the debate of the 14th of February, on the subject of preventing the importation of foreign sugar, rum, &c. into the plantations in America, Sir John Barnard again observed, that “ It would be impossible to prevent the running  
“ of

“ of French rum on shore, even if we were to send  
 “ to America the whole army of excise officers  
 “ which we have here at home. The sending  
 “ them thither, might indeed, add a good deal  
 “ to our happiness in this country ; but all of  
 “ them together could be of no service for such a  
 “ purpose in that country.”

In the debate on alienating part of the sinking <sup>23d February.</sup> fund, a more decided attack was made by Pulteney, who said, “ Though I was aware of the motion now made, I was in hopes that was not all the honourable gentleman was this day to open to the committee: There is another thing, a very terrible affair impending ! A monstrous project ! Yea, more monstrous than has ever yet been represented ! It is such a project as has struck terror into the minds of most gentlemen within this house, and into the minds of all men without doors, who have any regard to the happiness or to the constitution of their country. I mean, THAT MONSTER, THE EXCISE ! THAT PLAN OF ARBITRARY POWER, which is expected to be laid before this house in the present session of parliament.”

On the 27th of February, a call of the house being moved for on that day fortnight, the excise scheme was again introduced. Sir John Rushout commenced an attack on the minister, by saying, “ I do not rise to oppose the call of the house ; but there being, as I imagine, a certain scheme or project to be brought into the house, which seems to be of very great consequence to the whole nation, I wish that the  
 “ call

Period V. 1730 to 1734. " call of the house may be about the time that  
 " that scheme is to be laid before us. We have  
 " long been in expectation of seeing this glori-  
 " ous scheme, which is to render us all completely  
 " happy; we have waited for it with impatience  
 " ever since the beginning of the present session.  
 " I do not know whether the scheme itself has  
 " lately met with any alterations or amendments;  
 " but I hope, if it be to be laid before us this  
 " session, it will not be put off till towards the  
 " end of the session, when gentlemen are tired  
 " out with attendance, and obliged to return  
 " home to mind their own private affairs."

Walpole replied, " As to the scheme men-  
 " tioned by the honourable gentleman who spoke  
 " last, it is certain that I have a scheme, which I  
 " intend very soon to lay before you; I have  
 " not indeed, as yet, fully determined what my  
 " motion shall be; but if the motion for the call  
 " of the house be appointed for this day fort-  
 " night, I believe I shall be fully determined be-  
 " tween this and that time. I do not desire, I  
 " never did desire to surprise this house in any  
 " thing; nor had I, thank God, ever any occa-  
 " sion to use the low art of taking advantage of  
 " the end of the session for any thing I had to  
 " propose; but when the house does resolve it-  
 " self into a committee, which I mean to move  
 " for, I will lay before that committee a scheme  
 " which I have long thought of, which I am  
 " convinced is for the good of the nation; and  
 " which, if agreed to, will improve both the trade  
 " and

“ and the public revenue. As for the scheme’s  
“ having received alterations and amendments, I  
“ do not know but it may ; I never thought my-  
“ self so wise as to stand in no need of assist-  
“ ance ; on the contrary, I have taken from others  
“ all the advice and assistance I could obtain ;  
“ and in all my inquiries, I have chose to con-  
“ sult with those who I knew had a perfect know-  
“ ledge of such affairs, and had no particular in-  
“ terest in view, nor any private end to serve :  
“ from those who have by-ends of their own, I  
“ can never expect impartial counsel, and there-  
“ fore I have in this, as well as every other af-  
“ fair, thought it ridiculous to ask their advice.”  
He concluded by observing, “ That if a project  
“ could be framed to prevent the frauds com-  
“ mitted in the revenue, the author of such pro-  
“ ject would deserve the thanks of his country,  
“ and of every fair trader ; because, whenever a  
“ tax is laid on, and not collected regularly and  
“ duly, from every man subject to its operation,  
“ it is really making the fair trader pay to the  
“ public what the fraudulent trader puts into  
“ his own private pocket ; by which means the  
“ smuggler undersells the fair trader in every  
“ commodity, and by which the fair trader must  
“ be at last ruined and undone.”

Sir William Wyndham followed, and affected to assume, as an abstract statement, that the ques-  
“ tion was, “ Whether we should sacrifice the con-  
“ stitution to the prevention of frauds in the re-  
“ venue ?” Sir John Barnard seized this oppor-  
tunity



Period V.  
1730 to 1734.

tunity of making a popular speech, in which he said, "If I have been rightly informed, this scheme, in its first conception, was for a general excise, but that, it seems, was afterwards thought too much at once, and therefore, we are now to single out only one or two branches, in order that they may first be hunted down. But the very same reason may prevail with us, to subject every branch to those arbitrary laws; and as such laws are, in my opinion, absolutely inconsistent with liberty, therefore I must think that the question upon this scheme, even altered as it seems it is, will be, Whether we shall endeavour to prevent frauds in the collection of the public revenues, at the expence of the liberties of the people?" "For my own part," added he, "I never was guilty of any fraud, and therefore I speak against my own interest, when I speak against any method that may tend towards preventing frauds; but I will never put my private interest in balance with the interest or happiness of the nation. *I had rather beg my bread from door to door, and see my country flourish, than be the greatest subject in the nation, and see the trade of my country decaying, and the people enslaved and oppressed.*"

In the interval between the debate and the call of the house the minister was preparing to bring forward his scheme in a manner as little exceptionable as possible, and the opposition were exerting all their powers and influence to form a strong party

against it, and to excite the public to clamour for its rejection, whatever might be its merits.

Chapter 41.

1733.

Motion for a committee.

On the 7th of March, the minister moved, and carried, that on that day se'nnight, the house should resolve itself into a committee, to consider of the most proper methods for the better security and improvement of the duties and revenues already charged upon and payable from tobacco and wines. It was farther ordered, that the proper accounts, returns, and other papers, should be referred to the said committee, and the commissioners of the customs and excise should attend.

On this occasion, all the arts and influence of opposition were called forth to excite clamours against the measure. Not only the members solicited the attendance of their friends, but letters were delivered by the beadles, and other officers in the parishes and wards of the city, to induce a numerous party to assemble at the doors, and in the avenues to the house, to overawe the proceedings of the legislature. Walpole was apprized of these proceedings, but not to be deterred from the prosecution of his design. On the 15th of March, the house having resolved itself into a committee, he opened the business, and said :

“ As \* I had the honour to move that the house should resolve itself into this committee, I think it incumbent on me to open to you, what was

Walpole's speech.

\* The substance of this speech is principally taken from heads and memorandums, in the hand writing of Sir Robert Walpole, among the Orford Papers. A few connecting sentences have been supplied from the printed speech in the contemporary publications : Political State ; Historical Register. See also Chandler.

Period V. 1730 to 1734 was then intended to be proposed as the subject of your consideration. This committee is appointed for the better security of the duties and revenues already charged and payable upon tobacco. This can be done in no way so proper and effectual, as by preventing the commission of those frauds by which the revenue has already sustained such great injuries. As the proposed improvement is to be made by an alteration in the method of collecting and managing the duties already imposed, without any addition, or subjecting to the same duties any articles not already chargeable, I might have avoided stating this project to a committee of the whole house; but I have deserted the old road, and proposed a supply not immediately necessary for the current service of the year, that I might leave a greater freedom of consideration, by taking away every appearance of pressing necessity. I shall therefore only observe, that some previous provision must be made for the future application of the increased sum which, should the plan I am about to propose to be adopted, will be received into the exchequer.

“ The contest, in the present instance, is between the unfair trader, on one side; the fair trader, the planter, and the public, on the other; but to the public must be referred my most forcible appeal, as they, in truth, bear the whole weight of the injury: for though the fraudulent factor seems to make the planter, retailer, and consumer equally his prey, yet the landed interest ultimately

timately suffers the whole effect of the fraud, by making good what the subject pays, and the government does not receive.

“ In such a cause, I might reasonably expect the approbation of the fair trader, and the assistance of parliament; for assuredly, if in these times any cause can possibly be considered exempt from the operations of party, it is the cause now before the committee. But, Sir, I am not to learn, that whoever attempts to remedy frauds, attempts a thing very disagreeable to all those who have been guilty of them, or who expect to derive future benefits from them. I know that these men, who are considerable in their numbers, and clamorous in their exertions, have found abettors in another quarter, in persons much worse than themselves; in men who are fond of improving every opportunity of stirring up the people to mutiny and sedition. But as the scheme I have to propose, will not only be a great improvement to the revenue, an improvement of two or three hundred thousand pounds by the year, but also great benefit to the fair trader, I shall not be deterred, either by calumny or clamour, from doing my duty as a member of this house, and bringing forward a measure, which my own conscience justifies me in saying, will be attended with the most important advantages to the revenues and commerce of my country.

*Iustum et tenacem propositi virum,  
Non civium ardor prava jubentium,  
Mente quatit solidâ.*

“ Amongst



Period V.

1730 to 1734

“ Amongst the many slanders to which the report of this project has exposed me, I cannot avoid mentioning one, which has been circulated with an assiduity proportioned to its want of truth, that I was about to propose a *general excise*. In all plans for the benefit of government, two essential points must be considered, justice and practicability: many things are just which would not be practicable; but such a scheme would be neither one or the other. Various are the faults of ministers, various their fates: few have had the crimes of all; none till now found that the imputation of crime to him, became a merit in others. Yet if I were to propose to you such a scheme, popular opinion would run exactly in that channel. It would be a crime in me to propose, a crime in you to accept; and the only chance left to the house of retaining the favour of the people, would be the unqualified rejection of the project. But *I do most unequivocally assert, that no such scheme ever entered my head, or, for what I know, into the head of any man I am acquainted with.* Yet though I do not wish to do wrong, I shall always retain a proper share of courage and self-confidence to do what I judge right, and in the measures I am about to propose, shall rest my claim to support and approbation on the candid, the judicious, and the truly patriotic.

“ My thoughts have been confined solely to the revenue arising from the duties on wine and tobacco; and it was the frequent advices I had of the shameful frauds committed in these two branches,

branches, and the complaints of the merchants themselves, that induced me to turn my attention to discover a remedy for this growing evil. I am persuaded, that what I am about to propose, will, if granted, be an effectual remedy. But, if gentlemen will be prevailed on by industry, artifice, and clamour, to indulge the suggestions of party prejudice, they and their posterity must pay dear for it, by the grievous entail of a heavy land tax, which they will have sanctioned by their pusillanimity, in not daring to brave the outrages of the fraudulent and self-interested. For myself, I shall only say, I have so little partiality for this scheme, except what a real and constitutional love of the public inspires, that if I fail in this proposal, it will be the last attempt of the kind I shall ever make, and I believe, a minister will not soon be found hardy enough to brave, on the behalf of the people, and without the slightest motive of interest, the worst effects of popular delusion and popular injustice.

“ I shall for the present, confine myself entirely to the tobacco trade, and to the frauds practised in that branch of the revenue. If there is one subject of taxation more obvious than another, more immediately within the direct aim of fiscal imposition than another, it is such an article of luxury as depends for its use on custom or caprice, and is by no means essential to the support of real comfort of human life. If there is a subject of taxation where it is more immediately the province of the legislature to suppress fraud, and strictly to insist on the payment of every impost, it must be that where the wrong

Period V.  
1730 to 1734.

is felt by every class of persons, and none are benefited, except the most dishonest and profligate part of the community. Both these descriptions apply to the subject before us. For though the use of tobacco is perhaps less sanctioned by natural reason than any other luxury, yet so great is the predilection for it, in its various forms, that from the palace to the hovel there is no exemption from the duty; and surely it must be considered an intolerable grievance, that by the frauds which are daily committed, the very poorest of the peasantry are obliged to pay this duty twice: once in the enhanced price of the article; for though the fraudulent trader contrives to save to himself the amount of the tax imposed by parliament, yet he does not sell it cheaper to the public; and a second time, in the tax that is necessarily substituted to make good the deficiency which has been by these means occasioned. Did it ever happen till now, that when an abuse of this kind was to be remedied, endeavours were used to make the attempt unpopular?

“ In discussing this subject, it will be necessary first to advert to the condition of our planters of tobacco in America. If they are to be believed, they are reduced to the utmost extremity, even almost to a state of despair, by the many frauds that have been committed in that trade, and by the ill usage they have sustained from their factors and correspondents in England, who from being their servants, are become their tyrants. These unfortunate people have sent home many representations

sentations of the bad state of their affairs; they have lately deputed a gentleman with a remonstrance, setting forth their grievances, and praying for some speedy relief: this they may obtain by means of the scheme I intend now to propose; but I believe it is from that alone they can expect any relief.

“ The next thing to be considered is, the state of the tobacco trade with respect to the fair trader. The man who deals honourably with the public, as well as individuals, the man who honestly pays all his duties, finds himself forestalled in almost every market within the island, by the smuggler and fraudulent dealer. As to our foreign trade in tobacco, those who have no regard to honour, to religion, or to the welfare of the country, but are every day contriving ways and means for cheating the public by perjuries and false entries, are the greatest gainers; and it will always be so, unless we can contrive some method of putting it out of their power to carry on such frauds for the future.

“ We ought to consider the great loss sustained by the public, by means of the frauds committed in the tobacco trade, and the addition that must certainly be made to the revenue, if those frauds can be prevented in future. By this addition, parliament will acquire the means of exercising one of its most enviable privileges, that of diminishing the burthens of the country, the power of doing which will thus be presented to them in various forms. If it should be the prevailing



Period V.  
1730 to 1734.

vailing opinion, that the discharge of the national debt should be accelerated, this increase offers an abundant resource. If the idea should prevail, that those taxes ought to be alleviated which fall heaviest on our manufacturers and the labouring poor, as soap and candles, this increase will replace the difference. Or if it should be judged that more immediate attention ought to be paid to the current service, the fund may be reserved for that use: and it is manifestly unjust and impolitic, that the national debt should be continued, and the payment postponed; or that the heavy duties on our manufactures should remain, which are justly paid, and without fraud; or that ways and means for the current service should be annually imposed, if the present revenues will answer all or any of these purposes. This, I am convinced, will be the effect of the scheme I am to propose, and whoever views it in its proper light, must see the planters, the fair traders, and the public, ranged on one side in support of it; and none but the unfair traders and tobacco factors on the other.

“ I am aware that the evidence to be adduced in proof of the existence of the frauds I am about to enumerate, is not such as would be sufficient to induce a court of justice to pronounce the guilt of those to whom they may be imputed. But as I do not undertake the task of inculpation, if I make out such a case to the committee, as will enable them to decide on the existence of the crime, they will not hesitate to apply the remedy.

medy. They will consider the deficiency of strict legal proof, as a motive for their interference, rather than their forbearance; more particularly when they reflect, that if persons are with difficulty induced to give testimony in such a case as this, where the good of the country only is to be pursued, without injury to any one, they will be still less easily brought forward to give such information as will tend to the ruin of others. In this case it is hardly too much to say, that gentlemen should learn from the example of those interested, how to conduct themselves: they have, with an alacrity and unblushing eagerness which proves, which confesses their guilt, hastily inferred the most violent intentions in the friends of government; they have assumed facts, and inferred intentions, without the smallest data on which to found their presumptions. I ask no more than this: if I succeed in making it appear that gross frauds are daily practised, and the revenue injured in a most daring and profligate manner; that the proposed remedy, should it appear adequate and applicable, may be resorted to, without subjecting me to the necessity of procuring that which is, in fact, unattainable, such precise proof as would satisfy the administrators of the laws in the disposal of property, or deciding on guilt. Such evidence, and such facts as I have been able to collect, it is my duty to lay before you; and it is your duty to support me, unless my plan appears totally void of reason and justice."

Period V.

1730 to 1734.

The minister then proceeded to give such preliminary statements and calculations, as were necessary to render his plans intelligible, to make the abuses obvious, and to demonstrate the propriety and necessity of reform. From these statements it appeared, that the existing duties on tobacco amounted to sixpence and one-third of a penny on every pound. The discounts, allowances, and drawbacks, were a total drawback on re-exportation; ten per cent. on prompt payment; and fifteen per cent. on bonded duties. The gross produce of the tax, at a medium, £.754,131. 4s. 7d. the nett produce only £.161,000.

Having made these statements with the utmost exactness and perspicuity, he proceeded :

“ I shall now point out, as clearly as I can, and as amply as my knowledge will enable me, the principal frauds and most glaring instances of dishonesty, which occasion this amazing disproportion. And first I shall mention one, which seems alone capable of diverting from its proper channel the amount of any tax. I mean that of using light weights inwards, and heavy weights outwards, of paying by the first, and taking the drawback by the last, and charging the planter, and taking commission by the whole. This evil is farther enhanced by negligence; for it is customary to weigh a few hogsheds only, and if they answer, the whole pass according to the numbers in the cocket,

“ A par-

“ A particular instance of this fraud came lately to our knowledge by mere accident: one Mitford, who had been a considerable tobacco merchant in the city, happened to fail, at a time when he owed a large sum of money on bond to the crown. An extent was immediately issued against him, and government obtained possession of all his books, by which the fraud was discovered. For it appeared, as may be seen by one of his books, which I have in my hand, that upon the column where the false quantities which had been entered at the importation were marked, he had, by a collusion with the officer, got a slip of paper so artfully pasted down, that it could not be discovered, and upon this slip of paper were written the real quantities which were entered, because he was obliged to produce the same book when that tobacco was entered for exportation. But upon exportation, the tobacco was entered and weighed according to the quantities marked on this slip of paper, by which he secured a drawback, or his bonds returned, to near double the value of what he had actually paid duty for upon importation. Yet this Mitford was as honest a man, and as fair a trader, as any in the city of London. I desire not to be misunderstood; I mean, that before he failed, before these frauds came to be discovered, he was always reckoned as honest a man, and as fair a trader, as any in the city of London, or in any other part of the nation.”

After enumerating several other instances where



Period V. government had been defrauded of a full third of  
 1730 to 1734. the duties imposed, and legally payable, he came  
 to Peele's case, which is singular from its enormity. " In September 1732, this Peele entered in the James and Mary, from Maryland, 310 hogsheads of tobacco, for which he paid the duty in ready money. In October following, he sold 200 hogsheads to one Mr. Hyam, for exportation, and they were immediately exported. It appears on these 200 hogsheads, that the duties paid at importation, according to the weights in the land-waiters books, were short of the real weights by 13,292 pounds. The certificates sworn to for Mr. Peele to obtain debentures, were to discharge bonds given on a former entry of Virginia tobacco, imported in November 1731. The indorsement on the cocket made by Mr. Peele, in order to receive the debentures, exceeded the real weights actually shipped by 8,288 pounds, so that the total of the pounds weight gained by this fraud, amounts to 21,580.

" The next fraud to which I shall direct your attention, is that of receiving the drawback on tobacco for exportation, and relanding it. The effects of this practice are too obvious to require elucidation, and it has been carried to such an extent, that a great number of ships were employed at Guernsey, Jersey, and the Isle of Man, in receiving and relanding such tobacco. Nor was the evil confined to these ports; a very intelligent gentleman, Mr. Howel, who resided many years in Flanders, has frequently observed several quantities

quantities of tobacco imported into Ostend and Dunkirk, and there repacked in bales of one hundred pounds each, and put on board vessels which waited there to reland it in England or Ireland. About twelve months ago, nine British vessels were employed in taking cargoes for this purpose at Dunkirk.

“ The third fraud to which I shall direct the attention of the committee, is that of receiving the whole drawback for a commodity of almost no value, namely, the stalks of the tobacco, which it is usual, after the leaf has been stripped off, to press flat and cut, and by mixing this offal with sand and dust, impose on the revenue officers, and obtain the same drawback as for an equal weight of the entire plant. This miserable stuff, when the fraudulent purpose has once been answered, is either thrown into the sea, or relanded and sold at three farthings a pound, with an allowance of 1,010 pounds weight in five hogfheads.

“ The fourth fraud I shall advert to, is one of very great consequence, known by the name of *socking*, which is a cant term for pilfering and stealing tobacco from ships in the river. This iniquitous practice, which was discovered in 1728 and 1729, was chiefly carried on by watermen, lightermen, tide-waiters, and city porters, called gangs-men: the commodity so pilfered was deposited in houses from London Bridge to Woolwich, and afterwards sold, frequently to eminent merchants. Five hundred examinations have been taken

Period V.  
1730 to 1734.

taken on the subject, from which it appears, that, in the space of one year, fifty tons were socked on board ships and on the quays. Sixteen tons were seized, but that quantity was reckoned an inconsiderable part of the whole. In consequence of these informations, 150 officers were dismissed, nine were convicted, of whom six are ordered for transportation, three to be whipt: these prosecutions were all carried on at the expence of government; and it is not a little remarkable, when we recollect the professions of patriotism, virtue, and disinterestedness, which are now so copiously poured forth, that not a single merchant, though the facts were so notorious and shameful, assisted the state, either by information or pecuniary exertion, to suppress the fraud, or bring the delinquents to punishment.

“ The last grievance I shall mention, cannot so properly be denominated a fraud, as an abuse arising from the nature of the duties paid, and the manner of paying them; I mean the advantage afforded to the merchant of trading with the public money, or making government pay more than they receive. Bonds are given for eighteen months, three years are allowed for the exportation of the article, and new importations discharge old bonds. The losses which result to government from the failure of the obligors in these bonds, is immense; besides the ungracious task to which it subjects them of suing the sureties, who had no interest in the contract. The rich trader has another advantage; he avoids giving bonds, by paying the amount

amount of his duties in ready money, for which he is allowed a discount of ten per cent. Now it is very common, and not out of the line of fair trade, for a merchant to pay this duty, receive the discount, and by immediately entering the same commodity for exportation, gain an advantage (I will not say defraud the revenue) of ten per cent. without loss, risk, or expenditure.

“ The frauds which I have here enumerated are, I apprehend, sufficiently proved to satisfy the committee of their existence, and their enormity is obvious enough to demand active interference. The only remedy I can devise, is that of altering the manner of collecting the duties. Frauds become practicable by having but one check at importation, and one at exportation; if there is but one sentinel at a garrison, and he sleeps, or is corrupted, the castle is taken; but if there are more than one, it is in vain to corrupt the first, without extending the same influence to those who remain; and when difficulties are so multiplied, the project becomes hazardous and uncertain, and is abandoned.

“ If the grievance then is admitted, it only remains to mention the remedy, and to consider whether it is effectual, or whether it is worse than the disease.

“ The laws of the customs are manifestly insufficient to prevent the frauds which already exist; I therefore propose to add the laws of excise; and by means of both, it is probable, I may say



Period V. say certain, that all such frauds will be prevented  
 1730 to 1734. in future.

“ I have already stated to the committee, that the several imposts on tobacco amount to six pence and one third of a penny per pound, all of which must be paid down in ready money upon importation, with the allowance of ten per cent. upon prompt payment; or there must be bonds given, with sufficient sureties, for payment, which is often a great loss to the public, and always a great inconvenience to the merchant importer. Whereas, by what I shall propose, the whole duty will amount to no more than four pence three farthings per pound, and will not be paid till the tobacco is sold for home consumption; so that if the merchant exports his tobacco, he will be quite free from all payment of duty, or giving security; he will have nothing to do but re-load his tobacco for exportation, without being at the trouble of attending to have his bonds cancelled, or taking out debentures for the drawbacks: all which, I conceive, must be a great ease to the fair trader; and to every such trader the prevention of frauds must be a great advantage, because it will put all the tobacco traders in Britain on the same footing, which is but just and equitable, and what ought, if possible, to be accomplished.

“ Now, in order to make this ease effectual to the fair trader, and to contribute to his advantage, by preventing, as much as possible, all frauds for the future, I propose, as I have said, to join the laws of excise to those of the customs, and to leave

leave the one penny, or rather three farthings per pound, called the farther subsidy, to be still charged at the custom house, upon the importation of tobacco, which three farthings shall be payable to his majesty's civil list as heretofore; and I propose for the future, that all tobacco, after being weighed at the custom-house, and charged with the said three farthings per pound, shall be lodged in a warehouse or warehouses, to be appointed by the commissioners of excise for that purpose, of which warehouse the merchant importer shall have one lock and key, and the warehouse-keeper to be appointed by the said commissioners shall have another, that the tobacco may lie safe in that warehouse, till the merchant finds a market for it, either for exportation or home consumption: if his market be for exportation, he may apply to his warehouse-keeper, and take out as much for that purpose as he has occasion for, which, when weighed at the custom-house, shall be discharged of the three farthings per pound with which it was charged upon importation, so that the merchant may then export it without any farther trouble. But if his market be for home consumption, he shall pay the three farthings charged upon it at the custom-house upon importation, and then, upon calling his warehouse-keeper, he may deliver it to the buyer, on paying an inland duty of four pence per pound, to the proper officer appointed to receive the same.

“ And whereas all penalties and forfeitures to become due by the laws now in being, for regulating

Period V. 1730 to 1734. { lating the collection of the duties on tobacco, or at least all that part of them which is not given to informers, now belong to the crown, I now propose that all such penalties and forfeitures, in so far as they formerly belonged to the crown, shall for the future belong to the public, and be applicable to the same uses to which the said duties shall be made applicable by parliament; and for that purpose I have the king's commands to acquaint the house, that he, out of his great regard for the public good, with pleasure consents that they shall be so applied; which is a condescension in his majesty, that I hope every gentleman in this house is fully sensible of, and will freely acknowledge.

“ Having thus explained my scheme to the committee, I shall briefly touch on the advantages to be derived from, and anticipate some of the objections which may probably be made to it.

“ First then, turning duties upon importation into duties on consumption, is manifestly a great benefit to the merchant importer. The paying down of duties, or bonding, are heavy burthens. The payment of duties requires a treble stock to what would else be requisite in trade; and the asking securities, besides numerous other inconveniences, subjects the merchant to the necessity of returning the favour. It hardly requires to be mentioned, that it is a very great accommodation to be obliged to provide for the payment of one penny

penny only, instead of six pence and one third of  
a penny. Chapter 41.

1733.

“ The next benefit is the great abatement on the whole duty. The inland duty being four pence per pound, and the remaining subsidy three farthings, gives an abatement of 10 per cent. and of 15 per cent. upon the whole: whereas, the 25 per cent. is at present given only on the money paid down, which is not a fifth of the whole, and but 15 per cent. allowed on the four fifths which is bonded. Thus a duty of five pence farthing is paid on four fifths of the tobacco, and four pence three farthings on the other fifth; while by the plan I propose, no more than four pence three farthings will be paid on the whole. It is easy to calculate how great the advantage must be to the planter and fair trader from this arrangement, which demands so small an advance, exempts them from all the inconveniences of finding sureties, and requires no payment of any consequence, till the moment when a purchaser presents himself to refund the cost.

“ If it should be objected against this project, that it makes the tobacco trade a ready money business, which it cannot bear; I answer, that it may be so or not, as the parties themselves may chuse to arrange it; for if the merchant gives the consumer credit, as he now does, for the duties as well as the commodity, the objection ceases to have any weight.

“ The great advantage to the public will be this, that no duty being paid on tobacco designed  
for



Period V.  
1730 to 1734.

for exportation, an immediate stop will be put to the fraud on drawbacks, and to most of the disgraceful efforts of dishonesty, which I have previously enumerated. This fact does not require to be verified by an experiment; it is sufficiently proved by the success and facility which attend the collection of the malt duty.

“ I come now to the main point, and which alone can admit of debate; the grand objection of making the dealers in tobacco subject to the laws of excise. I am aware, that on this subject I have arguments or rather assertions to encounter, which are of great import in sound, though of very little in sense. Those who deal in these general declamations stigmatize the scheme in the most unqualified manner, as tending to reduce those subjected to it to a state of slavery. This is an assertion, the fallacy of which can only be determined by comparison. There are already ten or twelve articles of consumption subjected to the excise laws; the revenue derived from them amounts to about £.3,200,000 per annum, which is appropriated to particular purposes. A great number of persons are, of course, involved in the operation of these laws: yet, till the present moment, when so inconsiderable an addition is proposed, not a word has been uttered about the dreadful hardships to be apprehended from them. These clamours of interested and disaffected persons are best answered by the contented taciturnity of those in whose behalf their arguments, if of any force, ought to operate. Are the brewers  
and

and maltsters slaves, or do they reckon themselves so? Are they not as free in elections, to elect or be elected, as any others? or let any gentleman present say, if he ever met with any opposition from, or by means of an exciseman?

“ I quit this general topic to advert to more particular and specific objections: The chief of them are, houses liable to be searched; the being subject to the determination of commissioners without appeal, who are necessarily creatures of the crown; the number of excise officers; the injury the subject will sustain in being tried without a jury; and the particular interest of the crown in this alteration.

“ To all these objections one general observation will apply; that if for these reasons this scheme is to be relinquished, the whole system of excise laws ought to be abandoned. But I shall examine them one by one. I begin with the last, the most cruel and unjust, because it tends to set up an improper distinction, and draw a strong line of opposition between the interests of the crown and the interests of the people; that is to say, between the estate and particular property of the crown, and the estate and particular property of the public: this naturally leads to a general consideration of the public revenues.

“ The revenues may be computed at £.6,700,000 per annum. The public has of this, as its particular interest and property, about £.5,900,000 per annum, namely, the appropriated funds and

Period V.

1730 to 1734.

annual supplies. The proportion remaining to the crown, £.800,000, is not an eighth part of the whole. And here, in order to obviate a general misrepresentation, it is necessary to state, that the civil list revenues, in five years, from Midsummer 1727 to Midsummer 1732, have fallen short of the sum they are supposed to produce by upwards of £.26,000 a year on the average. Happy indeed would be the state of the country, if the appropriated duties would answer all the proper engagements, and leave a surplus sufficient for the current service! But if that great object is not attainable, it is surely well worth the attention of parliament to provide for a moiety, or even a fourth part of the current service. The appropriated duties were funds for paying the interest of the national debt. There had been deficiencies in several, but now a supply is made; a sinking fund for gradually discharging the principal. A million per annum has for several years been applied, and that, by the public creditors, is now thought more than sufficient.

“ If under the present management, the duties produce much less than ought to be paid to the public, has the public a right to make the most of their own revenues, or are they alone excluded from doing themselves justice? To object against the improvement of the king's part, is to say, that the public had better be defrauded of seven parts in eight, than that justice should be done to the crown in the eighth. If manifest frauds were discovered in a branch belonging entirely to the civil list,

list, the post office for example, would you rather sanction the wrong than do justice to the crown? Why then this unreasonable jealousy in the present instance? I call the jealousy unreasonable, because in this proposition all possible care has been taken to avoid the imputation of being designed for the benefit of the crown. The penny which goes to the civil list is left to be paid at the custom-house. All increase from the inland duty is not to go to the crown, but to the public. All fines, forfeitures, and penalties arising from the inland duties, are renounced by the crown, and appropriated to the public. In a word, the crown will have no interest in the inland duty, but as trustee for the public.

“ This fact, duly considered, answers the great objection to the determination of commissioners. For granting, for a moment, that commissioners are to be supposed corrupt, venal, and creatures of the crown, what influence can their regard for the crown have on them, to induce them to oppress the people, when the crown has no interest in their determination? But though this answer might reasonably be deemed satisfactory and sufficient, yet to obviate even speculative objections, a remedy is supplied for this supposed grievance, by investing three of the twelve judges with a power of determining, in a summary way, all appeals brought before them within the bills of mortality; and in the country, the same power is to be vested in one of the judges of the assize going the next circuit. This renders it impossible that



Period V.

1730 to 1734.

the interest of the subject can be sacrificed to undue influence on the one hand, or the revenue to private solicitation, personal friendship, or regard on the other. While such a tribunal presents itself, no offender would chuse to be carried into Westminster hall, rather than have his cause judged in a summary way. The benefit of a trial by jury would not induce a man to encounter the tedious, vexatious, and expensive proceedings in a court of law, more burthensome than the penalties and forfeitures in dispute. As far as my own observation enables me to judge on the present system, where the commissioners have, in most cases, a power to determine themselves, or to bring informations, I have found that most people, against whom informations have been laid, have been desirous that their causes should be determined by commissioners; but I never yet heard of one who was willing to take his cause out of the hands of the commissioners to have it tried in Westminster hall. One reason which contributes to render the exercise of power by the commissioners more popular is, that they possess the privilege of mitigation, which is not entrusted to the judges, who are merely administrators of the law according to the letter.

“ The next objection is the increase of revenue officers, which fear, interest, and affectation have magnified into a standing army. This standing army, allowing the proposed addition to extend to tobacco and wine, will not, according to the estimate of the commissioners, exceed *one hundred and*  
*twenty-*

*twenty-six* persons; that number, in addition to those already employed, will do all the duty. In this computation, warehouse-keepers are of course not included, their number must be uncertain, for the satisfaction and accommodation of the merchants: Few houses, however, out of London, will be subject to the excise laws which are not so already.

“ The only remaining objection is, the power of officers to enter and search houses. This objection could not possibly have any weight, without the aid of gross misconception, or misrepresentation. All warehouses, cellars, shops, and rooms used for keeping, manufacturing, or selling tobacco, are to be entered at the inland office. These are to be always liable to the inspection of the officer, and it is to be made penal to keep or conceal tobacco in any room or place not entered. But no other part of the house is liable to be searched without a warrant and a constable, which warrant is not to be granted without any affidavit of the cause of suspicion. The practice of the customs is now stronger; they can enter with a writ of assistance without any affidavit. But why all this solicitude in the behalf of fraud? If the powers given by either, or both the systems of revenue law are not sufficient (as I am informed they are not in the case of tea) it is an argument to add more checks, but no argument against the application of this.

“ The regulation in these two commodities, can affect neither trade, the poor, or the manufacturer.

Period V. 1730 to 1734. facturer. The poor are not at all concerned in the question of tobacco, as the retailer now sells all tobacco at the rate of duty paid. The manufacturer is concerned as little, for the same reason, and neither one or the other drinks any wine. The landed interest cannot be affected by it in consequence of an advanced charge on the poor and the manufacturer. The whole clamour then is in favour of the retailer or tradesman, and even he cannot suffer, unless guilty of frauds. "This is the scheme which has been represented in so dreadful and terrible a light; this is the monster, the many-headed monster, which was to devour the people, and commit such ravages over the whole nation. How justly it has been represented in such a light, I shall leave to this committee and to the world without doors to judge. I have said, and will repeat it, that whatever apprehensions and terrors people may have been brought under from a false and malicious representation of what they neither did, or could know or understand, I am fully persuaded, that when they have duly considered the scheme I have now the honour to open to you, they will view it in another light; and that if it has the good fortune to meet the approbation of parliament, and comes to take effect, the people will soon feel the happy consequences of it; and when they experience these good effects, they will no longer look on those persons as their friends, who have so grossly imposed on their understandings.

" I look



“ I look upon it as a most innocent scheme ; it can be hurtful to none but smugglers and unfair traders. I am certain it will be of great benefit to the revenue, and will tend to make LONDON A FREE PORT, AND BY CONSEQUENCE, THE MARKET OF THE WORLD. If I had thought otherwise of it I would never have ventured to propose it in this place.”

He then concluded, by moving a repeal of the subsidy and additional duty on tobacco, amounting in the whole to five pence and one third of a penny in the pound weight.

The members of opposition were not silenced or dismayed by the ample and candid manner in which the minister opened and explained his scheme, and pointed out its benefits. Though he had anticipated many of their objections, and shewn their futility, yet they brought them forward with as much confidence and perseverance as if they had been perfectly just and entirely new. The debate was long and animated ; the minister was principally supported by Mr. Yorke, then attorney general, and afterwards earl of Hardwicke, and Sir Joseph Jekyll, master of the rolls. The principal orators of opposition were alderman Perry, Sir Paul Methuen, Sir John Barnard, Heathcote, Pulteney, and Sir William Wyndham, who peculiarly distinguished himself on this occasion.

Their efforts were generally directed to counter-  
 tenance the popular clamours, which they themselves had excited : they recurred to all the inflammatory topics drawn from the introduction of

Arguments of  
 opposition.



Period V. a standing army of excisemen, giving arbitrary  
 1730 to 1734. power to the crown, and enslaving the subject.  
 They depreciated the proposed scheme, by affecting to demonstrate, that when the manner of committing a fraud was discovered, the farther perpetration of it became impracticable. Alderman Perry, in the name of the merchants of London, offered to answer for all the bonds outstanding, in consideration of a discount of £. 20,000, but he took care to except all those which were desperate, and made no calculation of their probable amount. Sir John Barnard called in the commissioners of the customs, who were obviously interested to prevent the completion of the excise scheme, and asked them what they thought the frauds in the tobacco trade might amount to, one year with another? They answered, they had never made any computation; but one of them said that he had, as matter of private curiosity, calculated on the subject, and thought it might amount to thirty or forty thousand pounds a year. Sir John then enquired; Whether it was their opinion, that if the officers of the customs did their duty diligently and faithfully, it would effectually prevent all or most of the frauds in the tobacco trade? This was, of course, answered in the affirmative. On the basis of this loose unauthenticated information, and hardy assertion, the opposition reviled the scheme with the most unqualified abuse, and unsparing ridicule.

Pulteney said, " The honourable gentleman was pleased to dwell on the generosity of the  
 8 crown

crown in giving up the fines, forfeitures, and seizures to the public; but in my opinion, it will be a poor equivalent for the many oppressions and exactions which the people will be exposed to by this scheme. I must say, that the honourable gentleman has been, of late, mighty bountiful and liberal in his offers to the public. He has been so gracious to ask us, Will you have a land tax of two shillings in the pound? A land tax of one shilling in the pound? Or will you have no land tax at all? Will you have your debts paid? Will you have them soon paid? Tell me but what you want, let me but know how you can be made easy, and it shall be done for you. These are most generous offers; but there is something so very extraordinary, so farcical in them, that, really, I can hardly mention them without laughing: It puts me in mind of the story of Sir Epicure Mammon in the Alchymist. He was gulled of his money by fine promises; he was promised the philosopher's stone, by which he was to get mountains of gold, and every thing else he could desire; but all ended at last in *some little thing for curing the itch.*"

Sir William Wyndham made a most able and vehement speech, in which he alluded to *Empson*, and *Dudley*, who, to gratify the avarice of their master, drained the purses of the subjects, not by new taxes, but by a severe and rigorous execution of the laws that had been enacted. "But what was their fate? They had the misfortune to out-live their master; and his son, as soon as he came to the throne, took  
off

Period V.  
1730 to 1734.

off both their heads." "There never was a scheme," he added, "which encountered so much dislike and dissatisfaction from the people in general; the whole nation has already so openly declared their aversion, that I am surprised to see it insisted on; the very proposing of such a scheme in the house of commons, after so many remonstrances against it, I must think most audacious; it is, in a manner, flying in the face of the whole people of England."

Walpole's reply.

In reply to these observations, the minister said, that much of the matter thrown out by the speakers on the other side was foreign to the debate: that the ancient historians, not only of this but other countries, had been ransacked to find parallel cases of wicked ministers, and make affected applications. "Of late years (he said) I have dwelt but little in the study of history, but I have a very good prompter behind me," (meaning the attorney general) "and by his means I can recollect, that the case of *Empson* and *Dudley* was so different from any thing that can possibly be presumed from the case now before us, that I wonder how it was possible to bring them into the debate. Those men had, by virtue of old and obsolete laws, unjustly extorted great sums of money from people, under pretence that they had become liable to penalties for the breach of statutes, which had for many years fallen into disuse. I must say (and I hope most of those who hear me will think) that it is very unjust to draw any parallel between their characters and mine. If my character



character is, or should ever come to be, in any respect, like their's, I shall deserve their fate. But while I know myself innocent, I shall depend upon the protection of the laws of my country; as long as they can protect me I am safe; and if that protection should fail, I am prepared to submit to the worst that can happen. I know that my political and ministerial life has by some gentlemen been long wished at an end, but they may ask their own disappointed hearts, how vain their wishes have been; and as for my natural life, I have lived long enough to learn to be easy about parting with it."

He then adverted to the artifices which had been used to exasperate the people, whom he compared to puppets, which persons behind the curtain played, and obliged to say whatever they pleased. He exposed the methods which had been used to draw a concourse of people to the door, such as sending circular letters by the beadies; and concluded in these words; "Gentlemen may say what they please of the multitudes now at our door, and in all the avenues leading to this house; they may call them a modest multitude if they will; but whatever temper they were in when they came hither, it may be very much altered now, after having waited so long at our door. It may be very easy for some designing seditious person to raise a tumult and disorder among them, and when tumults are once begun, no man knows where they may end; he is a greater man than any I know in the nation, that  
could



Period V.  
1730 to 1734.

could with the same ease appease them. For this reason, I think it was neither regular or prudent to use any methods for bringing such multitudes to this place, under any pretence whatever. Gentlemen may give them what name they think fit, it may be said they came hither as humble supplicants, but I know whom the law calls *sturdy beggars*,\* and those who brought them hither, could not be certain but that they might have behaved in the same manner."

After a few words from Sir John Barnard, in which he defended the assembling of people at the doors, and affectedly gave to the phrase *sturdy beggars*, that invidious sense in which it was afterwards so much repeated by the enemies of the minister, the question was called for, and passed by a majority of 61; (266 against 205.) The first resolution being thus carried, three others were put, and agreed to without a division.

Violence of  
the multitude.

The debate was protracted till two o'clock in the morning, an hour at that time considered extremely late. The people without were so exasperated, that as Sir Robert passed towards his carriage, some of them caught him by the cloak, and would probably have committed some violent outrage on his person, if his son, Edward Walspole, and general Churchill had not interfered.

Farther pro-  
ceedings.

On the 16th Sir Charles Turner, according to order, reported to the house the proceedings of the

\* I was informed, on the respectable authority of the late much to be regretted lord John Cavendish, that the minister used the phrase *sturdy beggars*, not as a matter of reproach, but to mark that the petitioners against the excise, were formidable petitioners.

the committee. The debate was resumed with increased acrimony. Sir John Barnard, Bacon, Sir Thomas Aston, lord Morpeth, Pulteney, and Walter Plumer opposed the question, that the house should agree to the report. Horace Walpole, lord Hervey, Sir Thomas Robinson, lord Glenorchy, Clayton, and Sir Robert Walpole supported it; the house divided; the affirmative was voted by a majority of 60.\* (249 against 189); and Sir Charles Turner, the chancellor of the exchequer, the attorney general, the solicitor general, Dodington, Clayton, Sir William Yonge, Sir George Oxenden, Scrope, and Edward Walpole, were directed to prepare and bring in the bill.

The effect of this bill on the public mind was so great, and the ferment it occasioned so violent, that I have judged it proper to state every division which took place during its discussion. It is unnecessary to specify the particulars of the debates, which, though conducted with great asperity, contained little novelty, and were often on mere points of order, or discussion of precedents.

The bill was brought in, and read a first time, on the 4th of April. An objection was made that some parts of it were not within the compass of the resolutions, and that it should therefore be withdrawn. This was overruled by a majority of 56; † (232 against 176). A motion being then made for the house to adjourn, was negatived by 237 against 199, and another for the second reading on that day se'nnight was carried by

\* Journals,

† Ibid.

Period V.  
1730 to 1734.

by a majority of 36; \* (236 against 200). The next day it was proposed to print the bill, and distribute a proper number of copies to the members of the house, which being opposed by the minister, was negatived by a majority of 16; † (128 against 112.).

10th April.

Bill relinquished.

The lord mayor of London, however, contrived to obtain a copy, and laid it before the common council; who resolved to petition the house against the bill, and prayed to be heard by counsel. The petition was patronised by Sir John Barnard, and ordered to lie on the table; but their being heard by counsel was over-ruled by a majority of 17; ‡ (214 against 197.) The next day similar applications were made from the Towns of Nottingham and Coventry. The order of the day being then read, for the second reading of the bill, Walpole moved that it should be postponed to the twelfth day of June: as it was generally understood, that the house would adjourn before that day, it was manifest that the minister meant to abandon his scheme. This mode, however, of dropping it, did not please; they wanted it to be rejected with some severe animadversion, but though some hints were thrown out to that effect, yet the general sense of the house, which was uncommonly full, was so apparent against it, that they did not think it prudent to make any specific motion.

Many conjectures have been made on the motive which induced the minister to abandon his plan; but I find none so satisfactory as the dislike

\* Journals.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.



like of counteracting the public opinion. The decline of his majority from 61 on the first, to 17 on the last division, affords no solution of his motives, for the intermediate questions were not of so much importance as the first, and though some of his friends undoubtedly from a dread of encountering the fury of a misguided populace, retired for a time from the scene of contest, I do not find, from the printed list in the Historical Register, that more than four joined the standard of opposition. Nor is it probable that the threat of farther desertions alarmed the minister, because, if his partisans had resolved to abandon him, they would have united themselves with the opposition, and have formed a constant majority in the house against him. An anecdote recorded by one of his friends, renders it still more probable, that his unwillingness to carry any measure marked by popular disapprobation, was the true motive of his conduct.

“ On the evening before the report, Sir Robert summoned a meeting of the principal members who had supported the bill. It was very largely attended. He reserved his own opinion till the last: but perseverance was the unanimous voice. It was urged that all taxes were obnoxious, and there would be an end of supplies, if mobs were to controul the legislature in the manner of raising them. When Sir Robert had heard them all, he assured them, “ That he was conscious of having meant well; that in the present inflamed temper of the people, the act could not be carried into execution



Period V. execution without an armed force; that there  
 1730 to 1734. would be an end of the liberty of England, if  
 supplies were to be raised by the sword. If, therefore, the resolution was to proceed with the bill, he would instantly request the king's permission to resign, for he would not be the minister to enforce taxes at the expence of blood."\*

Public  
 rejoicings.

Though the house did not rise, as was expected, before the 12th of June, yet they adjourned over that day, so that the tobacco bill was dropt, and the wine bill was never brought forward. The defeat of this proposition was celebrated in London, and various parts of the kingdom, as a great national victory. Bonfires were made, effigies burnt, cockades were generally worn, inscribed with the motto of *Liberty, Property, and no EXCISE*; the Monument was illuminated, and every demonstration given of exuberant triumph and excessive joy. The university of Oxford gave into the same folly, and carried their rejoicings to a most indecent excess. The gownsmen joined and encouraged the mob, jacobitical cries resounded through the town, and three days passed in this disgraceful manner before the vice chancellor and proctors could restore tranquillity.

Farther  
 efforts of  
 opposition.

The public rejoicings, and the general aversion entertained against the excise, inspired the opposition with hopes that they should be enabled, through that medium, to embarrass government, and effect the removal of the minister, by compelling

\* This anecdote is mentioned in "Historical Remarks on the Taxation of free States," on the authority of Mr. White, member for Retford, who lived in friendship with Sir Robert Walpole.

X This thin quarto volume was written by

pelling him to repeal the whole body of excise laws. With this view, a petition from the dealers in tea and coffee, praying for relief against the excise laws, as oppressive and injurious to trade, was presented, but it was rejected by 250 against 150.\*

Chapter 41.  
 1733.  
 10th April.

Notwithstanding this defeat, the opposition still laboured under two gross mistakes: the first was, that many members who promoted the bill, had voted in contradiction to their real sentiments from self interest; and the second, that the king did not cordially support the minister, but waited only for a favourable opportunity of removing him. They had the mortification however to be fully undeceived in these opinions. A sufficient proof that they had undervalued the number of those members who were attached to the minister soon appeared, upon a motion for appointing by ballot a committee to enquire into the frauds in the customs. This proposal was intended to reduce the minister to a dilemma. If it had been rejected, it would have been said, that he durst not stand an inquiry into the facts which he had laid down as the principle on which the excise bill was founded: if it was carried, great hopes were entertained, that in chusing a committee by ballot, many of those members who they believed had supported the minister from a dread of incurring his displeasure, would venture to give their votes in favour of their list, in preference to the court list, when it would not be known for which list each

April 25.

**Period V.** particular person gave his vote. No opposition  
 1730 to 1734. being made, a ballot took place, and a warm contest ensued; each side acted an open and manly part. Their respective lists contained the names of those only who were staunch friends, and the court list was carried by a majority of 85. This decisive victory put an end to the efforts and hopes of opposition for this session of parliament. \*

The king  
 supports  
 Walpole.

They were no less undeceived in their opinion, that the king did not cordially support the minister. Some persons of great consequence, had also about this period joined opposition, and this defection was increased from an idea which generally prevailed, that the credit of Walpole was declining, and his disgrace certain. In the house of peers, the opposition, which had been rendered formidable by the junction of lord Carteret, was considerably increased by the defection of several who enjoyed very profitable posts under the crown: The earl of Chesterfield, lord steward of the household, the earl of Burlington, captain of the band of pensioners, lord Clinton, lord of the bed chamber, and three Scotch peers, the duke of Montrose, keeper of the great seal, the earl of Stair, vice admiral, and the earl of Marchmont, lord register. To these were added, lord Cobham, colonel of the king's regiment of horse, and the duke of Bolton, colonel of the king's regiment of horse guards. Many of these had influenced their friends in the house of commons, and particularly the

\* De la Faye and Thomas Pelham, to the earl Waldegrave. Correspondence, April 26.



the three brothers of lord Chesterfield, had voted against the excise bill. It was generally believed, that the number and consequence of these peers would prevent the minister from venturing to remove them, and that the king would not consent to their dismissal or resignation. But the event proved otherwise. On the 11th of April the excise bill was abandoned; and on the 13th, as the earl of Chesterfield, \* in company with lord Scarborough, was going up the great stair-case of the palace at St. James's, he was informed by a servant of the duke of Grafton, that his master wanted to see him on business of the greatest importance; on returning home the duke of Grafton waited on him, and acquainted him that he was come by the king's command to require the surrender of the white staff, which was immediately delivered. The dismissal of Chesterfield was followed by the removal of Montrose, the earls of Stair, Burlington, and Marchmont, and lord Clinton. The resentment of the minister was carried so far, that lord Cobham and the duke of Bolton were even deprived of their regiments. †

The authority of the minister was also fully proved by the nomination of his confidential friends to the vacant offices, among whom the earl of Ilay was most conspicuous. His son, lord Walpole, was also made lord lieutenant of the county

\* Maty's Life of Lord Chesterfield. Sect. 4.

† Historical Register.



Period V. county of Devon, in the room of lord Clinton,  
 1730 to 1734. and all doubts of his superior influence in the cabinet, were removed by the appointment of Sir Charles Wager to the office of first lord of the admiralty, vacant by the death of lord Torrington, which took place in June. His power on this occasion was far more evident, because there was no instance, since the accession of the house of Brunswick, that a commoner was raised to that high office, and because George the Second had a strong predilection for persons of rank, and had often been informed, that the family of Sir Charles Wager was not sufficiently distinguished.

It is curious to observe the veteran seaman, in a letter to Sir Robert Walpole,\* founding his title to that post, not on his naval services, which no one could deny, but on a fanciful genealogy. The demur, however, was over-ruled by the minister, the king's scruples were removed, the Herald's office did not stand in his way, and he was placed at the head of the admiralty, which post he continued to fill, during the administration of Walpole, with much advantage to the minister, with great benefit to his country, and with no less credit to himself.

The king, in his speech from the throne, on the prorogation of the parliament, adverted to the artifices employed to delude the minds of the people, and to pervert the truth. "I cannot pass by unobserved, the wicked endeavours that have lately

\* Sir Charles Wager to Sir Robert Walpole, 12 July, 1731. Correspondence, Period V.

lately been made use of to inflame the minds of the people, and by the most unjust misrepresentation to raise tumults and disorders, that almost threatened the peace of the kingdom; but I depend upon the force of truth, to remove the groundless jealousies that have been raised of designs carrying on against the liberties of my people, and upon your known fidelity to defeat and frustrate the expectations of such as delight in confusion. It is my inclination, and has always been my study, to preserve the religious and civil rights of all my subjects. Let it be your care to undeceive the deluded, and to make them sensible of their present happiness, and the hazard they run of being unwarily drawn, by specious pretences, into their own destruction."

## CHAPTER THE FORTY-SECOND:

1734.

*Character of Lord Hardwicke.—Parliamentary Proceedings.—Efforts of the Minority in Parliament.—The Excise.—The Removal of the Duke of Bolton and Lord Cobham.—The Place Bill.—Motion for the Repeal of Septennial Parliaments.—Sir William Wyndham's Speech.—Walpole's Reply.—Bolingbroke's retreat to France.—The King's Speech.—Dissolution of Parliament.*

IN consequence of the numerous removals and resignations among the peers, which had taken place the last session, the opposition in the upper house became extremely formidable, and the majority of good speakers were ranged on that side.

Period V. To counterbalance this preponderancy, Sir Philip  
 1730 to 1734. Yorke was made lord chief justice of the court of  
 King's Bench.

His character. This great lawyer, who sat so long and with so  
 distinguished a character for integrity and know-  
 ledge at the head of the law, had raised himself  
 solely by his eminent talents. The eloquence  
 which he displayed at the bar had recommended  
 him to notice, and in 1719 he was appointed so-  
 licitor general, in the 30th year of his age; at the  
 same time he was re-elected for the borough of  
 Lewes in Suffex, by the interest of his patron,  
 the duke of Newcastle. In 1723 he was nomi-  
 nated attorney general, and highly distinguished  
 himself by his prudent and able speeches in the  
 house of commons. In October, 1733, he was  
 constituted lord chief justice of the King's Bench,  
 and in November, in the same year, called to the  
 upper house, by the title of baron Hardwicke.  
 The style of his eloquence was more adapted to  
 the house of lords than to the house of commons.  
 The tone of his voice was pleasing and melodious,  
 his manner was placid and dignified. Precision  
 of arrangement, closeness of argument, fluency of  
 expression, elegance of diction, great knowledge  
 of the subject on which he spoke, were his parti-  
 cular characteristics. He seldom rose into great  
 animation; his chief aim was more to convince  
 than amuse; to appeal to the judgment rather  
 than to the feelings of his auditors. He possessed  
 a perfect command over himself, and his even

temper was never ruffled by petulant opposition, or malignant invective. Chapter 42.  
1734.

The parliament assembled on the 17th January, and as it was the last session, the minority exerted their utmost efforts to distress the minister, and to increase his unpopularity. Meeting of  
parliament.

The plan of attack was in this, as in the session of 1730, principally formed by Bolingbroke; and under his auspices, and by his direction, ably conducted by Sir William Wyndham, who seems to have particularly distinguished himself in the debates.

They first tried their strength in various motions for papers and copies of instructions which were sent to the British ministers in France and Spain; for an address to know how far the king was engaged by his good offices in the causes of the war against the Emperor; and for an account of what application had been made by the parties engaged in hostilities. In these motions their exertions were baffled by the minister, and the smallest majority in his favour was 95. Having exhausted their efforts in regard to foreign transactions, in which he appeared to be most vulnerable, they directed their views to domestic events. Efforts of the  
minority.

They attempted to renew the public clamours about the excise, and to accuse the minister of not having totally relinquished that scheme; and of waiting only for a favourable opportunity of again introducing it. For this purpose a petition being again presented from the druggists, and other dealers in tea, for relief against the excise laws, February 4.  
Petition  
against the  
excise.



Period V. 1730 to 1734. some of the leading members of opposition attempted to revive the debate, and were inexcusably personal in their invectives against the minister. Pulteney in particular observed, "I am persuaded he still entertains the same opinion of the excise, and waits only for a proper opportunity to renew it; for which reason he is unwilling that we should go into such a committee as is now proposed, lest we should sap all the foundations of any future project for a farther extension of the excise laws." The reply of the minister to this insinuation was direct and manly. After repelling the attacks with equal spirit and energy, he said, "As to the wicked scheme, as the gentleman was pleased to call it, which he would persuade gentlemen is not yet laid aside, I, for my part, assure this house, I am not so mad as ever again to engage in any thing that looks like an excise, though in my own private opinion, I still think it was a scheme that would have tended very much to the interest of the nation, and I am convinced that all the clamours without doors, and a great part of the opposition it met with every where, was founded upon artful falsehoods, misrepresentations, and insinuations, that such things were intended as had never entered into the thoughts of any man with whom I am acquainted." In consequence of this explicit declaration, the assertions of the contrary side made little impression on the house, and the question  
for

for referring the petition to a committee, was neg- Chapter 42.  
gated by 233 against 155\*.

1734.

The spirit of opposition was carried to such an excess, that the minority not only resisted every measure of government with unabating pertinacity, but brought forwards a question that had a direct tendency to undermine and destroy the constitution which they affected so zealously to admire. In fact, this attempt had so direct a tendency to renew that military independance, which in the last century had subverted the throne, and enslaved the people, that even those writers who, in other respects, invariably decry the Walpole administration, have not scrupled to reprobate this proposal, though it was supported with all the strength of their favourite party. † The motion related to the removal of the duke of Bolton and lord Cobham from their military commands.

Debates on  
the removal  
of the duke of  
Bolton and  
lord Cobham.

Lord Morpeth, after the reading of the muti- 13th Feb,  
ny bill, rose, and concluded a speech full of trite reflections on a standing army, under the influence of the crown, on the danger of arbitrary power, and some inapplicable and erroneous allusions to the constitution of Holland and Sweden, by moving for leave to bring in a bill "for securing the constitution, by preventing officers, not above the rank of colonels of regiments, from being deprived of their commissions, otherwise than by judgment of a court martial to be held for

\* Chandler. Journals.

† Smollett, book. 2. chap. 5.—Belsham, vol. 1. p. 340.

Period V. for that purpose, or by address of either house of  
 1730 to 1734. parliament."

This motion was argued at great length, and with uncommon warmth; but though ancient and modern history was ransacked, and every topic introduced which ingenuity could suggest, few observations worthy of record were produced. The minority were fully employed in defending their proposition against the charges with which it was overwhelmed by the ministerial advocates.

Walpole concluded the debate, \* with a speech replete with sound principles and constitutional doctrines. He defended not only the prerogative of the crown, but the interest of parliament, and the well-being of the community, against the horrible despotism of a stratocracy, or army government; vindicated the purity of court martials, and deprecated the evils which would result to the service from subjecting them to the influence of intrigue, and making their decisions the mean of retaining or forfeiting a post for life. "The behaviour of an officer, he observed, may be influenced by malice, revenge, and faction, and on the pretence of honour and conscience; and if ever any officer of the army, because the king refused to comply with some very unreasonable demand, should resolve to oppose in every thing the measures of government, I should think any man a most pitiful minister if he should be afraid of advising

\* Lord Catherlogh said a few words after him, but they contained a simple dissent, unenforced by argument, expressive only of the obligations of the army to the movers of the question.

advising his majesty to cashier such an officer. On the contrary, I shall leave it as a legacy to all future ministers, \* that upon every occasion, it is their duty to advise their master that such a man is unfit to have any command in his armies. Our king has, by his prerogative, a power of placing, preferring, and removing any officer he pleases, either in our army or militia : It is by that prerogative chiefly, he is enabled to execute our laws, and preserve the peace of the kingdom : if a wrong use should be made of that prerogative, his ministers are accountable for it to parliament ; but it cannot be taken from him or diminished without overturning our constitution ; for our present happy constitution may be overturned by republican, as well as by arbitrary schemes. Therefore it must be left to his majesty to judge by what motives an officer acts, and if he thinks an officer acts from bad motives, in duty to himself, he ought to remove him." He then expatiated on the danger of a dictatorship from the measure proposed, and concluded with the constitutional apothegm :

" *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari.*"

The question was negatived without a division. †

Foiled in this attempt, the opposition renewed the attack on a ground more plausible and popular, that of personal inquiry. Sandys moved for an address, " humbly to desire his majesty, graciously to inform the house, by whose advice he had

\* Opinions of the Duchess of Marlborough, p. 105. These words are erroneously attributed to Mr. Pelham, by Chandler.

† Chandler. Journals.



**Period V.** had been pleased to discharge the duke of Bolton and lord Cobham, and what crimes were alledged against them." Pulteney seconded the motion. The ministry discerning the views of their opponents, and knowing that to discuss the question would produce the same effect as pleading to a specific charge, by letting loose on them all the powers of invective, and all the arts of misrepresentation, declined the contest; they made no reply, but called for the question. Sir William Wyndham in vain attempted, by reproaches and invectives, to provoke a debate, the question was again called for, and on a division, negatived by 252 against 193.\*

On the same day the duke of Marlborough brought into the house of lords, a bill similar to that in the commons, but it was thrown out after the first reading. A motion to the same purport as that of Sandys was made by lord Cartaret, but rejected. Protests on both occasions were entered on the journals, signed by upwards of thirty peers, and the duke of Bolton and lord Cobham separately signed a short and manly protest.

On the place  
bill;

Another measure of opposition, calculated to render themselves popular, was to revive a self-denying ordinance, which had excited much clamour in the reign of king William, and, after great opposition, had formed an article among the limitations in the act of settlement, but had been afterwards repealed. It was intitled a bill for securing

\* Journals.

curing the freedom of parliament, by limiting the number of officers (both civil and military) in the house of commons. Several friends of the minister were strongly inclined to favour the bill, and others could not venture to oppose so popular a question at the eve of a general election.

The motion was also so agreeable to the sentiments of many among the Whigs, who usually supported government, that the minister did not use his influence on this occasion. He did not even speak in the debate, but contented himself with giving a silent vote, as he did on the pension bill. For these reasons it was negatived by a very small majority of 230 against 191.\* But a small majority on this single question had no effect on the general state of parties. It fully proved the judgment of Walpole, in not committing himself in subjects of so much delicacy, or pressing his adherents to vote in opposition to popular predilections.

But the question on which the opposition founded their principal hopes, if not of success at least of embarrassing the minister, was a proposal to repeal the septennial bill, which was first introduced on this occasion, and afterwards annually renewed.

It had been long a matter of surprise, that a question which was so well calculated to increase their popularity, had not been proposed before. But the fact was, that in this particular instance

the

\* Journals.

Chapter 42.  
1734.  
February 26.

Period V. 1730 to 1734. the opposition was divided. The Tories and Jacobites, who had strenuously resisted the introduction of the bill, could not obtain the co-operation of the disaffected Whigs, as it seemed to imply a dereliction of their principles, to vote for the repeal of a bill which they had once thought necessary for the security of the Protestant succession. At the repeated instigations of Bolingbroke, Sir William Wyndham and the leading Tories persisted, and at length carried their point. The Whigs reluctantly complied, and proved, by their manner of conducting the debate, the awkward situation in which they were placed. The motion was made by Bromley, and seconded by Sir John St. Aubyn. The only Whigs of any consequence who spoke for the question, were Sir John Barnard, who said only a few words, and Pulteney, who rose late in the debate. He made a short speech, and prefaced it with an apology for his apparent inconsistency, in voting for the repeal of a bill which he had supported at the time of its introduction.

March 13.

The speech of Sir William Wyndham on this occasion, is triumphantly quoted by the modern writers who uniformly stigmatise the Walpole administration, as a master-piece of eloquence and energy ; they state his arguments as unanswerable. At the same time these partial reporters never advert to the reply of Sir Robert Walpole, but leave the reader to suppose that scarcely any answer was made,



made, and that the whole strength of the argument lay on the side of opposition. \* Chapter. 42.  
1734

To abridge or detail printed debates, without illustrating them by any new documents, is not the general purport of this work. But on this occasion, where there has been such a wilful suppression of the argument on one side, and such an affected display of the reasoning on the other, it will be almost as great a novelty to give the speech of the minister, as if it had never been in print. I have therefore inserted the philippic of Sir William Wyndham, and Walpole's reply, verbatim from contemporary narratives. †

After a short reply to Sir William Yonge, who preceded him, and justifying the assertions of Sir John Barnard, who spoke in favour of the motion, Sir William Wyndham vindicated the triennial bill

\* Smollett, in recording this transaction, has characterised Sir William Wyndham, by saying that, "His speech spoke him the unrivalled orator, the uncorrupted Briton, and the unshaken patriot." He gives only that part of the speech which relates to the character of Walpole, and concludes, "Notwithstanding the most warm, the most nervous, the most pathetic remonstrances in favour of the motion, *the question was put, and it was suppressed by mere dint of numbers*, vol. 2. p. 495. If Smollett means any thing by this relation, it must be that no reply was made to the argument of his admired orator, but that the business was got rid of by the cry of *Question! Question!* Belfham has thus related the transaction: "The minister having defied the opposition to adduce a single instance, in which the interests of the nation had been injured by the operation of this bill; or by any undue exercise of the royal prerogative connected with it, Sir William Wyndham observed," &c. After quoting Sir William Wyndham's speech, he adds, without taking the smallest notice of Sir Robert Walpole's reply, "Notwithstanding the admiration excited by this sudden burst of eloquence, and the ability with which the motion of repeal was supported by various other speakers, it was negatived on the division, though not by the accustomed ministerial majority, the numbers being 247 against 184."

† Political State of Great Britain.—Historical Register.—See also Chandler.



Period V.  
1730 to 1734.

bill from the objections of those who declared that it was introduced by the enemies of the revolution, he added, "The learned gentleman has told us, that the septennial law is a proper medium between the unlimited power of the crown, and the limiting that power too much; but before he had fixed upon this as a medium, he should first have discovered to us the two extremes. I will readily allow, that an unlimited power in the crown, with respect to the continuing of parliaments, is one extreme; but the other I cannot really find out; for I am very far from thinking, that the power of the crown was too much limited by the triennial law, or that the happiness of the nation was any way injured by it, or can ever be injured by frequent elections. As to the power of the crown, it is very certain, that as long as the administration of public affairs is agreeable to the generality of the people, were they to chuse a new parliament every year, they would chuse such representatives as would most heartily concur in every thing with such an administration; so that even an annual parliament could not be any limitation of the just power of the crown; and as to the happiness of the nation, it is certain, that gentlemen will always contend with more heat and animosity about being members of a long parliament, than about being members of a short one; and therefore the elections for a septennial parliament must always disturb the peace, and injure the happiness of the nation, more than the elections for an annual or triennial parliament: Of this

this the elections in the city of London, mentioned by my worthy friend, are an evident demonstration.

Chapter 42.  
1734.

“ As to the elections coming on when the nation is in a ferment, it is so far from being an objection to frequent elections, that it is, in my opinion, a strong argument in favour of them ; because it is one of the chief supporters of the freedom of the nation. It is plain, that the people seldom or ever were in a ferment, but when encroachments were made upon their rights and privileges ; and when any such are made, it is very proper, nay, it is even necessary, that the people should be allowed to proceed to a new election, in order that they may chuse such representatives as will do them justice, by punishing those who have been making encroachments upon them. Otherwise, one of these two effects may very probably ensue : either the ferment will break out into an open insurrection, or the encroachment that has been made, may happen to be forgot before a new election comes on, and then the invaders of the people’s rights will have a much better lay for getting such a new parliament chosen, as will not only free them from all punishment, but will confirm the encroachments that have been made, and encourage the making of new. Thus the rights of the people may be nibbled and curtailed piecemeal, and ambitious criminals may at last get themselves so firmly seated, that it will be out of the power of

Period V. the people to stop their career, or to avoid the  
 1730 to 1734. chains which they are preparing.

“ Now, to return to the power of the crown, which the learned gentleman has told us was too much limited by the triennial law ; I think I have made it plain, that the just power of the crown cannot possibly be limited by frequent elections, and consequently could not be too much limited by the triennial law ; but by long parliaments the crown may be enabled to assume, and to make use of an unjust power. By our constitution, the only legal method we have of vindicating our rights and privileges against the encroachments of ambitious ministers is by parliament ; the only way we have of rectifying a weak or wicked administration is by parliament ; the only effectual way we have of bringing high and powerful criminals to condign punishment is by parliament. But if ever it should come to be in the power of the administration to have a majority of this house depending upon the crown, or to get a majority of such men returned as the representatives of the people, the parliament will then stand us in no stead. It can answer none of these great purposes ; the whole nation may be convinced of the weakness or the wickedness of those in the administration, and yet it may be out of the nation’s power, in a legal way, to get the fools turned out, or the knaves hanged.

“ This misfortune can be brought upon us by nothing but by bribery and corruption ; and therefore there is nothing we ought to guard more  
 watchfully



watchfully against. And an honourable gentleman who spoke some time ago, upon the same side with me, has so clearly demonstrated, that the elections for a septennial parliament are more liable to be influenced by corruption than those for a triennial, that I am surpris'd his argument should be mistaken or not comprehended : but it seems the most certain maxims, the plainest truths, are now to be controverted or denied. It has been laid down as a maxim, and I think it is a most infallible maxim, that a man will contend with more heat and vigour, for a post, either of honour or profit, which he is to hold for a long term, than he will do for one he is to hold for a short term. This has been controverted : it has been laid down as a maxim, and I think equally infallible, that 100 guineas is a more powerful bribe than 50 ; this has been denied ; yet nevertheless I must beg leave to push the argument a little farther.

“ Let us suppose a gentleman at the head of the administration, whose only safety depends upon corrupting the members of this house : this may now be only a supposition, but it is certainly such a one as may happen ; and if ever it should, let us see if such a minister might not promise himself more success in a septennial, than he could in a triennial parliament. It is an old maxim, that every man has his price, if you can but come up to it : this, I hope, does not hold true of every man, but I am afraid it too generally holds true ; and that of a great many it may hold true,



Period V. 1730 to 1734 true, is what I believe was never doubted of, though I don't know but it may now likewise be denied. However, let us suppose this distressed minister applying to one of those men who has a price, and is a member of this house: in order to engage this member to vote as he shall direct him, he offers him a pension of £.1,000 a year. If it be but a triennial parliament, will not the member immediately consider within himself, if I accept of this pension, and vote according to direction, I shall lose my character in the country, I shall lose my seat in parliament the next election, and my pension will then of course be at an end; so that by turning rogue I shall get but £.3,000, this is not worth my while; and so the minister must either offer him, perhaps double that sum, or otherwise he will probably determine against being corrupted. But if the parliament were septennial, the same man might perhaps say within himself, I am now in for seven years, by accepting of this pension I shall have at least £.7,000, this will set me above contempt; and if I am turned out at next election, I do not value it, I'll take the money in the mean time. Is it not very natural to suppose all this; and does not this evidently shew, that a wicked minister cannot corrupt a triennial parliament with the same money with which he may corrupt a septennial.

“ Again, suppose this minister applies to a gentleman who has purchased, and thereby made himself member for a borough, at the rate of, perhaps, £.1,500, besides travelling charges, and other little

little expences: suppose the minister offers him a pension of £.500 a year to engage his vote, will not he naturally consider, if it be a triennial parliament, that if he cannot get a higher pension he will lose money by being a member; and surely, if it be a right burghers, he will resolve not to sell at all, rather than sell his commodity for less than it cost him; and if he finds he cannot sell at all, he will probably give over standing a candidate again upon such a footing; by which, not only he, but many others, will be induced to give over dealing in corrupting the electors at the next election. But in case it be a septennial parliament, will he not then probably accept of the £.500 pension, if he be one of those men that has a price? because he concludes that for £.1,500, he may always secure his election; and every parliament will put near £.2,000 in his pocket, besides reimbursing him all his charges. After viewing the present question in this light, is it possible not to conclude, that septennial parliaments, as well as the elections for such, must always be much more liable to be influenced by corruption than triennial, or elections for triennial.

“ For my own part, I have been often chosen, I have sat in parliament above these twenty years, and I can say with truth, that neither at my election, nor after my return, no man ever dared to attempt to let me know what is meant by bribery and corruption; but am sorry to hear the impossibility of preventing it mentioned, and men-

Period V.

1730 to 1734.

tioned too within these walls. The honourable gentleman who spoke last, told us, the evil of corruption was inevitable: if I were so unhappy as to think so, I should look upon my country to be in the most melancholy situation. Perhaps it may be the way of thinking among those he keeps company with; but I thank God I have a better opinion of my countrymen; and since it appears to be a way of thinking among some gentlemen, it is high time for us to contrive some method of putting it out of their power to corrupt the virtue of the people. For we may depend upon this as a certain maxim, that those who think they cannot gain the affections of the people, will endeavour to purchase their prostitution; and the best way to prevent the success of their endeavours, is to raise the price so high, as to put it out of the power of any man, or of any set of men, to come up to it. If a parliament is to be purchased, if elections are to be purchased, it is manifest the corrupting of triennial must, upon the whole, cost a great deal more than the corrupting of septennial elections or parliaments. Therefore, in order to put it out of the power of any man, or of any administration, to purchase the prostitution of a parliament, or of the people, let us return to triennial parliaments; and if that will not do, let us return to annual elections, which, I am very certain, would render the practice of corruption impossible. This is now the more necessary, because of the many new posts and places of profit which the crown has at its disposal,



disposal, and the great civil list settled upon his present majesty, and which will probably be continued to his successors: this, I say, urges the necessity for frequent new parliaments, because the crown has it now more in their power than formerly to seduce the people, or the representatives of the people, in case any future administration should find it necessary for their own safety to do so.

“That the increase or decrease of corruption at elections, or in parliament, must always depend upon the increase or decrease of virtue among the people, I shall readily grant; but it is as certain, that the virtue of almost every particular man, depends upon the temptations that are thrown in his way; and according to the quantity of virtue he has, the quantity of the temptation must be raised, so as at last to make it an over-balance for his virtue. Suppose, then, that the generality of the electors in England had virtue enough to withstand a temptation of five guineas each, but not virtue enough to withstand a temptation of ten guineas one with another. Is it not then much more probable, that the gentlemen who deal in corruption, may be able to raise as much money once every seven years, as will be sufficient to give ten guineas each, one with another, to the generality of the electors, than that they will be able to raise such a sum once in every three years? And is it not from thence certain, that the virtue of the people in general is in greater danger of being destroyed by septennial than by triennial parliaments? To suppose that every man's vote at an election, is like a commodity, which



Period V. 1730 to 1734. must be sold at the market price, is really to suppose that no man has any virtue at all. For I will aver, that when once a man resolves to sell his vote at any rate, he has then no virtue left, which, I hope, is not the case of many of our electors, and therefore the only thing we are to apprehend is, lest so high a price should be offered as may tempt thousands to sell, who had never before any thoughts of carrying such a commodity to market. This is the fatal event we are to dread, and it is much more to be dreaded from septennial than triennial parliaments. If we have therefore any desire to preserve the virtue of our people; if we have any desire to preserve our constitution; if we have any desire to preserve our liberties, our properties, and every thing that can be dear to a free people, we ought to restore the triennial law; and if that be found to be insignificant, we ought to abolish prorogations, and return to annual elections.

“ The learned gentleman spoke of the prerogative of the crown, and asked, if it had lately been extended beyond those bounds prescribed to it by law? I will not say that there has been lately any attempts to extend it beyond the bounds prescribed by law; but I will say, those bounds have been of late so vastly enlarged, that there seems to be no great occasion for any such attempt. What are the many penal laws made within these forty years, but so many extensions of the prerogative of the crown, and as many diminutions of the liberty of the subject? And whatever the necessity was that brought us into the enacting of  
such

such laws, it was a fatal necessity; it has greatly added to the power of the crown, and particular care ought to be taken not to throw any more weight into that scale. Perhaps the enacting of several of those penal laws might have been avoided; I am persuaded the enacting of the law relating to trials for treason, not only might, but ought to have been avoided; for though it was but a temporary law, it was a dangerous precedent; and the rebellion was far from being so general in any county, as not to leave a sufficient number of faithful subjects for trying those who had committed acts of treason within the county.

“In former times the crown had a large estate of its own; an estate sufficient for supporting the dignity of the crown; and as we had no standing armies, nor any great fleets to provide for, the crown did not want frequent supplies; so that they were not under any necessity of calling frequent parliaments. And as parliaments were always troublesome, often dangerous to ministers, therefore they avoided the calling of any such as much as possible. But though the crown did not then want frequent supplies, the people frequently wanted a redress of grievances, which could not be obtained but by parliament; therefore the only complaint then was, that the crown either did not call any parliament at all, or did not allow them to sit long enough. This was the only complaint; and to remedy this, it was thought sufficient to provide for having frequent parliaments, every one of which, it was presumed, was  
always

Period V.

1730 to 1734.

always to be a new parliament; for it is well known, that the method of prorogation was of old very rarely made use of, and was first introduced by those who were attempting to make encroachments upon the rights of the people.

“ But now the case is altered. The crown, either by ill management, or by prodigality and profuseness to its favourites, has spent or granted away all that estate; and the public expence is so much enlarged, that the crown must have annual supplies, and is therefore under a necessity of having the parliament meet every year. But as new elections are always dangerous as well as troublesome to ministers of state, they are for having them as seldom as possible; so that the complaint is not now for want of frequent meetings or sessions of parliament, but against having the same parliament continued too long. This is the grievance now complained of; this is what the people desire; this is what they have a right to have redressed. The members of parliament may for one year be looked on as the real and true representatives of the people; but when a minister has seven years to practise on them, and to feel their pulses, they may be induced to forget whose representatives they are; they may throw off all dependance upon their electors, and may become dependants upon the crown, or rather upon the minister for the time being, which the learned gentleman has most ingeniously confessed to us, he thinks less dangerous than a dependance upon his electors.

“ We



“ We have been told in this house, that no faith is to be given to prophecies, therefore I shall not pretend to prophecy; but I may suppose a case, which, though it has not yet happened, may possibly happen. Let us then suppose a man abandoned to all notions of virtue or honour, of no great family, and of but a mean fortune, raised to be chief minister of state, by the concurrence of many whimsical events; afraid or unwilling to trust any but creatures of his own making, and most of them equally abandoned to all notions of virtue and honour; ignorant of the true interest of his country, and consulting nothing but that of enriching and aggrandizing himself and his favourites; in foreign affairs trusting none but such whose education makes it impossible for them to have such knowledge or such qualifications as can either be of service to their country, or give any weight or credit to their negotiations. Let us suppose the true interest of the nation by such means neglected or misunderstood, her honour and credit lost, her trade insulted, her merchants plundered, and her sailors murdered; and all these things overlooked, only for fear his administration should be endangered. Suppose him next possessed of great wealth, the plunder of the nation, with a parliament of his own choosing, most of their seats purchased, and their votes bought at the expence of the public treasure. In such a parliament, let us suppose attempts made to enquire into his conduct, or to relieve the nation from the distress he has brought upon it; and when  
lights



Period V. 1730 to 1734 lights proper for attaining those ends are called for, not perhaps for the information of the particular gentlemen who call for them, but because nothing can be done in a parliamentary way, until these things be in a proper way laid before parliament. Suppose these lights refused, these reasonable requests rejected by a corrupt majority of his creatures, whom he retains in daily pay, or engages in his particular interest, by granting them those posts and places which ought never to be given to any but for the good of the public. Upon this scandalous victory, let us suppose this chief minister pluming himself in defiance, because he finds he has got a parliament, like a packed jury, ready to acquit him at all adventures. Let us farther suppose him arrived to that degree of insolence and arrogance, as to domineer over all the men of ancient families, all the men of sense, figure, or fortune in the nation; and as he has no virtue of his own, ridiculing it in others, and endeavouring to destroy or corrupt in all.

“ I am still not prophesying, I am only supposing; and the case I am going to suppose, I hope will never happen; but with such a minister, and such a parliament, let us suppose a prince upon the throne, either for want of true information, or for some other reason, ignorant and unacquainted with the inclinations and the interest of his people, weak, and hurried away by unbounded ambition and insatiable avarice. This case has never happened in this nation; I hope, I say, it will never exist; but as it is possible it may,

may, could there any greater curse happen to a nation, than such a prince on the throne, advised, and solely advised by such a minister, and that minister supported by such a parliament. The nature of mankind cannot be altered by human laws, the existence of such a prince, or such a minister, we cannot prevent by act of parliament; but the existence of such a parliament I think we may: and as such a parliament is much more likely to exist, and may do more mischief while the septennial law remains in force, than if it were repealed, therefore I am most heartily for the repeal of it."

After the intervention of a short speech from Henry Pelham, and another from Pulteney, Sir Robert Walpole thus addressed the chair;

"Sir, I do assure you, I did not intend to have troubled you in this debate, but such incidents now generally happen towards the end of our debates, nothing at all relating to the subject, and gentlemen make such suppositions, meaning some person, or perhaps, as they say, no person now in being, and talk so much of wicked ministers, domineering ministers, ministers pluming themselves in defiance, which terms, and such like, have been of late so much made use of in this house, that if they really mean no body either in the house or out of it, yet it must be supposed they at least mean to call upon some gentleman in this house to make them a reply; and therefore I hope I may be allowed to draw a picture in my turn; and I may likewise

say,

Walpole's  
Reply.

Period V.  
1730 to 1734

say, that I do not mean to give a description of any particular person now in being. When gentlemen talk of ministers abandoned to all sense of virtue or honour, other gentlemen may, I am sure, with equal justice, and, I think, more justly, speak of anti-ministers and mock-patriots, who never had either virtue or honour, but in the whole course of their opposition are actuated only by motives of envy, and of resentment against those who have disappointed them in their views, or may not perhaps have complied with all their desires.

“ But now, Sir, let me too suppose, and the house being cleared, I am sure no person that hears me can come within the description of the person I am to suppose. Let us suppose in this, or in some other unfortunate country, an anti-minister, who thinks himself a person of so great and extensive parts, and of so many eminent qualifications, that he looks upon himself as the only person in the kingdom capable to conduct the public affairs of the nation, and therefore christening every other gentleman who has the honour to be employed in the administration, by the name of Blunderer. Suppose this fine gentleman lucky enough to have gained over to his party some persons really of fine parts, of ancient families, and of great fortunes, and others of desperate views, arising from disappointed and malicious hearts; all these gentlemen, with respect to their political behaviour, moved by him, and by him solely;

all



all they say, either in private or public, being only a repetition of the words he has put into their mouths, and a spitting out that venom which he has infused into them; and yet we may suppose this leader not really liked by any, even of those who so blindly follow him, and hated by all the rest of mankind. We will suppose this anti-minister to be in a country where he really ought not to be, and where he could not have been but by an effect of too much goodness and mercy, yet endeavouring, with all his might and with all his art, to destroy the fountain from whence that mercy flowed. In that country suppose him continually contracting friendships and familiarities with the ambassadors of those princes who at the time happen to be most at enmity with his own; and if at any time it should happen to be for the interest of any of those foreign ministers to have a secret divulged to them, which might be highly prejudicial to his native country, as well as to all its friends; suppose this foreign minister applying to him, and he answering, I will get it you, tell me but what you want, I will endeavour to procure it for you: upon this he puts a speech or two in the mouths of some of his creatures, or some of his new converts; what he wants is moved for in parliament, and when so very reasonable a request as this is refused, suppose him and his creatures and tools, by his advice, spreading the alarm over the whole nation, and crying out, gentlemen, our country is at present involved in many dangerous difficulties, all  
which



Period V.  
1730 to 1734

which we would have extricated you from, but a wicked minister and a corrupt majority refused us the proper materials; and upon this scandalous victory, this minister became so insolent as to plume himself in defiance. Let us farther suppose this anti-minister to have travelled, and at every court where he was, thinking himself the greatest minister, and making it his trade to betray the secrets of every court where he had before been; void of all faith or honour, and betraying every master he ever served. I could carry my suppositions a great deal farther, and I may say I mean no person now in being; but if we can suppose such a one, can there be imagined a greater disgrace to human nature than such a wretch as this?

“ Now, to be serious, and to talk really to the subject in hand. Though the question has been already so fully and so handsomely opposed by my worthy friend under the gallery, by the learned gentleman near me, and by several others, that there is no great occasion to say any thing farther against it; yet as some new matter has been stated by some of the gentlemen who have since that time spoke upon the other side of the question, I hope the house will indulge me the liberty of giving some of those reasons which induce me to be against the motion. In general I must take notice, that the nature of our constitution seems to be very much mistaken by the gentlemen who have spoken in favour of this motion. It is certain, that our's is a mixed government, and the perfection

perfection of our constitution consists in this, that the monarchical, aristocratical, and democratical forms of government are mixed and interwoven in our's, so as to give us all the advantages of each, without subjecting us to the dangers and inconveniences of either. The democratical form of government, which is the only one I have now occasion to take notice of, is liable to these inconveniences, that they are generally too tedious in their coming to any resolution, and seldom brisk and expeditious enough in carrying their resolutions into execution: that they are always wavering in their resolutions, and never steady in any of the measures they resolve to pursue; and that they are often involved in factions, seditions, and insurrections, which exposes them to be made the tools, if not the prey of their neighbours. Therefore in all the regulations we make, with respect to our constitution, we are to guard against running too much into that form of government which is properly called democratical: this was, in my opinion, the effect of the triennial law, and will again be the effect, if ever it should be restored.

“ That triennial elections would make our government too tedious in all their resolves is evident; because in such case, no prudent administration would ever resolve upon any measure of consequence, till they had felt not only the pulse of the parliament, but the pulse of the people; and the ministers of state would always labour under this disadvantage, that as secrets of state

Period V. must not be immediately divulged, their enemies  
 1730 to 1734- (and enemies they will always have) would have a  
 handle for exposing their measures, and rendering them disagreeable to the people, and thereby carrying perhaps a new election against them, before they could have an opportunity of justifying their measures, by divulging those facts and circumstances from whence the justice and the wisdom of their measures would clearly appear.

“ Then it is by experience well known, that what is called the populace of every country, are apt to be too much elated with success, and too much dejected with every misfortune. This makes them wavering in their opinions about affairs of state, and never long of the same mind; and as this house is chosen by the free and unbiassed voice of the people in general, if this choice were so often renewed, we might expect, that this house would be as wavering and as unsteady as the people usually are; and it being impossible to carry on the public affairs of the nation without the concurrence of this house, the ministers would always be obliged to comply, and consequently would be obliged to change their measures as often as the people changed their minds.

“ With septennial parliaments we are not exposed to either of these misfortunes, because, if the ministers, after having felt the pulse of the parliament, which they can always soon do, resolve upon any measures, they have generally time enough before the new election comes on, to give the people a proper information, in order to shew them

them the justice and the wisdom of the measures they have pursued; and if the people should at any time be too much elated, or too much dejected, or should without a cause change their minds, those at the helm of affairs have time to set them right, before a new election comes on.

“As to faction and sedition, I will grant, that in monarchical and aristocratical governments, it generally arises from violence and oppression; but in democratical governments, it always arises from the people’s having too great a share in the government. For in all countries, and in all governments, there always will be many factious and unquiet spirits, who can never be at rest, either in power or out of power. When in power they are never easy, unless every man submits entirely to their direction; and when out of power, they are always working and intriguing against those that are in, without any regard to justice, or to the interest of their country. In popular governments such men have too much game, they have too many opportunities for working upon and corrupting the minds of the people, in order to give them a bad impression of, and to raise discontents against those that have the management of the public affairs for the time; and these discontents often break out into seditions and insurrections. This would, in my opinion, be our misfortune, if our parliaments were either annual or triennial: by such frequent elections, there would be so much power thrown into the hands of the people, as would destroy that equal mixture,

T 2



Period V.  
 1730 to 1734.

ture, which is the beauty of our constitution. In short, our government would really become a democratical government, and might from thence very probably diverge into a tyrannical. Therefore, in order to preserve our constitution, in order to prevent our falling under tyranny and arbitrary power, we ought to preserve that law, which I really think has brought our constitution to a more equal mixture, and consequently to a greater perfection than it was ever in before that law took place.

“ As to bribery and corruption, if it were possible to influence, by such base means, the majority of the electors of Great Britain, to chuse such men as would probably give up their liberties; if it were possible to influence, by such means, a majority of the members of this house to consent to the establishment of arbitrary power, I should readily allow, that the calculations made by the gentlemen of the other side were just, and their inference true; but I am persuaded that neither of these is possible. As the members of this house generally are, and must always be, gentlemen of fortune and figure in their country, is it possible to suppose, that any of them could by a pension or a post be influenced to consent to the overthrow of our constitution, by which the enjoyment, not only of what he got, but of what he before had, would be rendered altogether precarious. I will allow, that with respect to bribery, the price must be higher or lower, generally in proportion to the virtue of the man who is to be

be bribed ; but it must likewise be granted, that the humour he happens to be in at the time, and the spirit he happens to be endowed with, adds a great deal to his virtue. When no encroachments are made upon the rights of the people, when the people do not think themselves in any danger, there may be many of the electors, who, by a bribe of ten guineas, might be induced to vote for one candidate rather than another ; but if the court were making any encroachments upon the rights of the people, a proper spirit would, without doubt, arise in the nation, and in such a case I am persuaded that none, or very few, even of such electors, could be induced to vote for a court candidate, no not for ten times the sum.

“ There may be some bribery and corruption in the nation, I am afraid there will always be some. But it is no proof of it that strangers are sometimes chosen ; for a gentleman may have so much natural influence over a borough in his neighbourhood, as to be able to prevail with them to chuse any person he pleases to recommend ; and if upon such recommendation they chuse one or two of his friends, who are perhaps strangers to them, it is not from thence to be inferred, that the two strangers were chosen their representatives by the means of bribery and corruption.

“ To insinuate that money may be issued from the public treasury for bribing elections, is really something very extraordinary, especially in those gentlemen who know how many checks are upon every shilling that can be issued from thence ; and

Period V.

1730 to 1734.

how regularly the money granted in one year for the service of the nation, must always be accounted for the very next sessions in this house, and likewise in the other, if they have a mind to call for any such account. And as to gentlemen in offices, if they have any advantage over country gentlemen, in having something else to depend on besides their own private fortunes, they have likewise many disadvantages: they are obliged to live here at London with their families, by which they are put to a much greater expence, than gentlemen of equal fortune who live in the country. This lays them under a very great disadvantage in supporting their interest in the Country. The country gentleman, by living among the electors, and purchasing the necessaries for his family from them, keeps up an acquaintance and correspondence with them, without putting himself to any extraordinary charge; whereas a gentleman who lives in London, has no other way of keeping up an acquaintance and correspondence among his friends in the country, but by going down once or twice a year, at a very extraordinary expence, and often without any other business; so that we may conclude, a gentleman in office cannot, even in seven years, save much for distributing in ready money at the time of an election; and I really believe, if the fact were narrowly inquired into, it would appear, that the gentlemen in office are as little guilty of bribing their electors with ready money, as any other set of gentlemen in the kingdom.

“ That

“ That there are ferments often raised among the people without any just cause, is what I am surpris'd to hear controverted, since very late experience may convince us of the contrary : do not we know what a ferment was raised in the nation towards the latter end of the late queen's reign ? And it is well known what a fatal change in the affairs of this nation was introduced, or at least confirmed, by an election coming on while the nation was in that ferment. Do not we know what a ferment was raised in the nation soon after his late majesty's accession ? And if an election had then been allowed to come on while the nation was in that ferment, it might perhaps have had as fatal effects as the former ; but, thank God, this was wisely provided against by the very law which is now wanted to be repealed.

“ It has, indeed, been said, that the chief motive for enacting that law, now no longer exists : I cannot admit that the motive they mean was the chief motive ; but even that motive is very far from having entirely ceased. Can gentlemen imagine, that in the spirit raised in the nation not above a twelvemonth since, Jacobitism and disaffection to the present government had no share ? Perhaps some who might wish well to the present establishment did co-operate, nay, I do not know but they were the first movers of that spirit ; but it cannot be supposed that the spirit then raised should have grown up to such a fer-



Period V. 1730 to 1734. ment, merely from a proposition which was honestly and fairly laid before the parliament, and left entirely to their determination! No, the spirit was, perhaps, begun by those who are truly friends to the illustrious family we have now upon the throne; but it was raised to a much greater height than, I believe, even they designed, by Jacobites, and such as are enemies to our present establishment, who thought they never had a fairer opportunity of bringing about what they have so long and so unsuccessfully wished for, than that which had been furnished them by those who first raised that spirit. I hope the people have now in a great measure come to themselves, and therefore I doubt not but the next elections will shew, that when they are left to judge coolly, they can distinguish between the real and the pretended friends to the government. But I must say, if the ferment then raised in the nation had not already greatly subsided, I should have thought a new election a very dangerous experiment; and as such ferments may hereafter often happen, I must think that frequent elections will always be dangerous; for which reason, in so far as I can see at present, I shall, I believe, at all times think it a very dangerous experiment to repeal the septennial bill."

It is impossible at this distance of time to appreciate exactly the effect of the minister's speech; but a contemporary writer\* asserts, that it was

one

\* Tindal.

one of the best he ever made. The fate of these two speeches is singular: Sir William Wyndham, by his disrespectful allusions to the king, drew on himself a reproof, the justice of which neither himself or his friends have endeavoured to disprove. It was considered as an intemperate effusion, and did not lose the minister a single supporter in parliament, or a single adherent in the country; yet it has been carefully inserted by party writers, calling themselves historians, while that of the minister has been no less invidiously suppressed.

Walpole's speech, as far as it relates to that personality which seems to be the recommending characteristic of the other, has certainly less claim to be recorded, because the character and situation of Bolingbroke, contrasted with his own, are less able to give permanence and publicity to invective. The faults of an ex-minister, or aspiring leader of a party, are less interesting, to the community, than those of the man who holds the reins of government. But the immediate result of Walpole's unpremeditated reply to this studied attack, was a sense of shame in the opposition Whigs, and of indignation in the principal Tories, which interrupted their cordial union. Several Whigs re-united themselves to the minister, and the leading Tories, ashamed of appearing the puppets of Bolingbroke, though they continued to thwart and oppose the measures of government, did not, of themselves, bring forward any new question during the remainder of the session.

Period V.

1730 to 1734.

Unpopularity  
of Boling-  
broke.

It may not perhaps be improper in this place to observe, that the sensation which Walpole's speech made in the house of commons, and the effect which it had out of doors, in developing the intrigues of Bolingbroke with the opposition in England, and of laying open his cabals with foreign courts and ministers, were the immediate cause, that he quitted this country, and retired to France. Pulteney, who saw and appreciated the fatal consequences of his unpopularity among the Whigs, to which party he himself was always cordially attached, bitterly complained that Sir William Wyndham received too implicitly the dictates of Bolingbroke. With a view therefore to remove this stigma from opposition, he recommended to him a temporary retirement from England. Bolingbroke was extremely mortified, that all his repeated professions of honour, virtue, and disinterestedness, did not gain credit; he found himself reduced to the most wretched situation which an aspiring mind like his could suffer, that of being excluded from a share in the legislature, and heading a party in continued opposition, without the smallest hopes of ever being restored to his seat in the house of lords. In his letters to Sir William Wyndham, he feelingly describes his own situation, "I am still," he says, "the same proscribed man, surrounded with difficulties, exposed to mortifications, and unable to take any share in the service, but that which I have taken hitherto, and which, I think, you would not persuade me to take in the present state of things.

My

My part is over, and he who remains on the stage after his part is over, deserves to be hissed off." \* Chapter 42.  
1734.

In consequence of these sentiments, he waited until the meeting of the new parliament, when a large majority still supporting the minister, during whose continuance in power he had no chance of obtaining a complete restoration, he followed the advice of Pulteney, and retired in disgust to France. Retires to  
France.

The adversaries of the minister had taken advantage of the inflamed state of the public mind, to circulate reports, both in their speeches and writings, that the liberties of the subject were in danger, and that he had planned a regular system of oppression, which, if not resisted, would erect a despotic and arbitrary power on the ruins of the British constitution.

The speech which Walpole composed for the king, on the dissolution of the parliament, was calculated to counteract these reports, and to conciliate the public. It was full of sentiments which none but a free nation could understand and appreciate; sentiments which do honour to the minister who composed it, to the king who uttered it, to the parliament who heard it, and to the people who applauded it. Speech on the  
dissolution of  
parliament.

“ The prosperity and glory of my reign depend upon the affections and happiness of my people, and the happiness of my people upon my preserving to them all the legal rights and privileges, as established under the present settlement of the crown April 16th.

\* Lord Bolingbroke to Sir William Wyndham, Paris, November 29, 1735.—Correspondence, Period III. Article Bolingbroke.



Period V. crown in the Protestant line. A due execution  
 1730 to 1734. and strict observance of the laws, are the best and  
 only security both to sovereign and subject: their  
 interest is mutual and inseparable, and therefore  
 their endeavours for the support of each other  
 ought to be equal and reciprocal. Any infringement  
 or encroachment upon the rights of either  
 is a diminution of the strength of both, which,  
 kept within their due bounds and limits, make that  
 just balance, which is necessary for the honour and  
 dignity of the crown, and for the protection and  
 prosperity of the people. What depends upon  
 me, shall, on my part, be religiously kept and ob-  
 served, and I make no doubt of receiving the just  
 returns of duty and gratitude from them." \*

## CHAPTER THE FORTY-THIRD:

1733—1734.

*Views of Foreign Transactions from the Death of Augustus the Second to the Dissolution of Parliament.—Successful Hostilities of France, Spain, and Sardinia, against the Emperor.—Neutrality of the Dutch.—Causes which induced England to reject the Application of the Emperor for Succours.*

IF any man ever deserved the appellation of minister of peace, that man was Sir Robert Walpole. The foreign transactions of this eventful period will sufficiently verify that assertion. Yet it cannot be denied, that peace itself may be dearly purchased by the dereliction of national honour, by the breach of treaties, by permitting the loss

\* Chandler, vol. 2. p. 248. Journals:

of dominions to those whom it is our interest to support, and the aggrandisement of those whom it is our interest to depress. And it must be confessed, that if any censure can be justly thrown on the pacific system adopted by Walpole, it must be thrown on the inactivity of England at this critical juncture; in her refusal to assist the Emperor, against the united arms of France, Spain, and Sardinia; in suffering the Spanish branch of the house of Bourbon to wrest from the house of Austria, Naples, and Sicily; and, what was still more hostile to the interests of Great Britain, in permitting the accession of Loraine and Bar to France. For if it be allowed, that any merit is due for preserving this country and Europe from a general War, that merit is due to Walpole; so on the other hand, it cannot be denied, that if any blame can be imputed to the cabinet for tameness and pusillanimity, that blame must also attach solely to him; as he alone stood forth in opposition to the king and part of the cabinet, and by refusing to assist the Emperor, maintained his country in peace.

I shall confine myself at present to a brief deduction of the facts and negotiations which preceded and followed the death of Augustus the Second, interspersed with such observations as may tend to elucidate his conduct, and display the motives that induced the minister of finance to abstain from entering into offensive operations against France, and to suffer the aggrandisement of the house of Bourbon, and the depression of the  
house

Period V. 1730 to 1734. house of Austria ; which proved afterwards so fatal to the interest of England, and of which we now experience the evil effects. In making this deduction, it is not my intention either to censure or to commend, but simply to state the sum and substance of the motives, which the papers in my possession have enabled me to assign for his conduct.

Pacific state  
of Europe.

For a term of twenty years, Europe had enjoyed an unexampled state of tranquillity, only broken by petty hostilities between Spain and England in 1718 and 1727. This tranquillity had been owing to the temporary separation between France and Spain, to the reciprocal interests of France and England in the maintenance of peace, and to the good intelligence between the two cabinets.

February 1.

But the reconciliation between France and Spain, and the re-union of England and Austria, by the treaty of Vienna, had scarcely taken place, before the jealousies between the two nations began to revive ; their counsels were no longer guided by the same mutual good will and harmony. The efforts to give a king to Poland, on the death of Augustus the Second, the indignation of Elizabeth Farnese against the Emperor, for having deceived her in not accomplishing the marriage between her son, Don Carlos, and an archduchess, and the disputes which arose concerning the succession of Tuscany and Parma, kindled a war between the houses of Austria and Bourbon, which would have become general, had

had not Walpole prevented the diffusion of hostilities. Chapter 43.  
1733.

The death \* of Augustus the Second had no sooner been announced, than Louis the Fifteenth determined to support the claims of his father-in-law to the crown of Poland, in defiance of the Emperor and Russia, who favoured the elector of Saxony, son of the deceased monarch. He declared to all the foreign ambassadors, that he would not suffer any power to oppose the freedom of election in Poland. This declaration implied, that he expected no opposition to be made to the election of Stanislaus, because the influence of France in Poland was so great, as to preclude the choice of any other candidate. And as Spain was prepared to act offensively against the Emperor, and the king of Sardinia was on the point of concluding an alliance with France and Spain, Walpole had a difficult and delicate part to act. He was no less anxious than the Emperor or Russia, to exclude Stanislaus; and yet he was unwilling to offend France, by taking an open and active share in his exclusion. He was no less zealous to promote the election of Augustus, in return for his guaranty of the pragmatic sanction. But as he was determined to decline entering into a war, Consequences of the death of Augustus the Second.  
  
Conduct of France:  
  
Of England.

\* The substance of this chapter is taken from the dispatches of Horace Walpole, lord Harrington, the duke of Newcastle, and Thomas Robinson; Walpole, Orford, and Grantham Papers. Also from several papers drawn up by Horace Walpole, particularly, "Reflections on the present state of affairs, October 8, 1733."—"Conduct of England, with regard to what has passed in Poland, since the death of king Augustus, and the transactions in other parts relative thereto, extracted from the correspondence with his majesty's ministers in foreign parts," from February to November 1733. "Continuation of the Conduct, &c." from November 1733 to July 1734.



Period V. 1730 to 1734. if it could be declined with honour, his conduct evinced the most consummate address and prudence.

Although the assurances to second the pretensions of the elector, and to exclude Stanislaus, were as strong as words could express; yet every declaration was avoided which seemed to imply, in the most distant degree, the co-operation of force. To the Czarina, who announced her inclination to unite with the king and the Emperor in filling the vacancy, and hoped that the choice would not fall on Stanislaus, or any French prince, it was replied, that the king would use his endeavours for the election of an unexceptionable person, and would second the Czarina's disposition to secure the public tranquillity.

To the Emperor, who declared his resolution to support the freedom of election, according to the constitution of Poland, which expressions were construed as meaning an exclusion of Stanislaus, and who requested that the English minister at Warsaw might act in concert with him, Russia, and Prussia, every assurance was given, that the king of England approved the resolution of promoting a new and free election in favour of an unexceptionable prince, and would forward the same design, as far as could be done by good offices. It was also urged that Mr. Woodward, the minister at Dresden, should contribute as much as possible to the same views; and if any complaint should be afterwards made, that he had acted less warmly than might be expected against Stanislaus,

Stanislaus, he was to alledge, as an excuse, the unwillingness of the king to give such an offence to France, without advantage to himself or his allies, and the small influence the king could expect to have in the affairs of that distant kingdom.

Chapter 43.

1733 to 1734.

At the same time the king ordered his minister at Warsaw to give the strongest assurances of his affection and friendship towards that republic. He was to declare upon all occasions, in the king's name, for a free election, in favour of any prince, who was not displeasing to the neighbouring powers, and in whom the Poles might find a security for their liberties. He was to act in concert with the ministers of the Emperor and the Czarina, and assist them in obtaining the election of Augustus; but he was to act with the utmost discretion and moderation, not to join in giving the exclusion to any person, except the Pretender or his children. He was to oppose Stanislaus, but not in such a manner as might give offence, though he need not conceal his wishes in favour of the party espoused by the Emperor and his allies. If any encouragement was given to the Pretender, he was to protest against it, and leave the kingdom.

The British cabinet carried their caution on this occasion to the highest degree of delicacy. The Imperial ministers delivered to Mr. Robinson \* a paper, importing, that France appearing determined to break the peace, a rupture might be prevented by a strict union between the Emperor and

\* July 15, Walpole Papers.

Period V.  
1730 to 1734.

and his allies. For this reason the Emperor desired to concert measures with England and the United Provinces, either for deterring France, or for repelling hostilities. The Emperor, it was urged, had amply provided Luxemburgh, but the remaining part of the Netherlands should be jointly secured, and the empire protected. The concurrence of the king of England was expected, because he had *approved* all the measures and sentiments adopted by the Imperial court, in regard to the Polish election. In reply to these insinuations, Mr. Robinson was ordered to observe, that this expression might be understood as if the king had actually *approved* the exclusion of Stanislaus by force, that such an insinuation ought not to pass unnoticed, because it was directly contrary to the most positive assurances, which had been transmitted from England to the British minister at Vienna; that the king was so far from having approved any design to commit hostilities in Poland, that he never could believe the Emperor had entertained such a design, and that he had always declared for a free election. The truth of this statement was acknowledged by the court of Vienna; and Mr. Robinson was again directed to dissuade them from pursuing such measures as might cause disturbances in Europe. These strong and repeated remonstrances finally prevailed on the Emperor, not openly to employ force, but to leave that part to the Czarina.

July 24.

In conformity to the same principle, the British ministers at Warsaw and Vienna expressed the  
disappro-

disapprobation of the king, that the Imperial minister at Warsaw accompanied the Russian ambassador when he notified the resolution of the Czarina to exclude Stanislaus by force, and when the Emperor was solicitous to engage England in a treaty of mutual defence with Russia, the answer of the king implied, that he was ready to conclude a treaty of friendship with the Czarina, but would not agree that it should contain defensive stipulations, or engagements to assist her, if she should be attacked in Europe on account of the transactions of Poland.

Chapter 43.  
1733. to 1734.

During these transactions, the election took place in Poland. The French party so far prevailed in favour of Stanislaus, who in 1710 had been declared for ever incapable of being elected king of Poland, that a majority of the diet of convocation entered into a confederation to choose no one but a native, born of Roman Catholic parents, who possessed no sovereignty out of Poland, and was not supported by any foreign troops beyond the frontiers. In consequence of this resolution, which was declaring in his favour, Stanislaus secretly passed into Poland, made his appearance at Warsaw, and was chosen by the diet of election, which assembled on the 12th of September. Against this election, the Saxon party came forward, supported by a Russian army which entered Warsaw without resistance. The adherents of Stanislaus were dispersed, he himself fled to Dantzic, and the partizans of Augustus

Election of  
Stanislaus:  
April.

Counter-  
election of  
Augustus.



Period V. 1730 to 1734. assembled at Wola, the plain of election near Warsaw, and proclaimed him king of Poland.

France, Spain, and Sardinia, declare war against the Emperor.

The indignation of Louis the Fifteenth, was not appeased by the professions of the Emperor, that he had not acted offensively against Stanislaus, because he had sent no troops into Poland; but arguing that the co-operation of his minister at Warsaw with the Russian and Saxon ministers, and the assembling of 6,000 men on the frontiers of Poland, were the same as if he had openly employed force, declared war against him, in conjunction with Spain and Sardinia.

Their successful operations.

The declaration of war on the part of the three allied powers, was followed by instant hostilities. The French army, under Marshal Berwick, took the fort of Kehl, and invaded Germany; another corps, under the count of Belle Isle, overran Lorraine.

The Emperor claims the assistance of England.

Nov. 1<sup>st</sup> 1733

The Emperor, in a memorial delivered by Count Kinski, his ambassador in London, claimed the succours stipulated by the last treaty of Vienna, and claimed them in a manner which shewed his conviction, that England could not in justice refuse them. In fact, he had many reasons to suppose that he should obtain the required assistance. For notwithstanding the precautions which the English cabinet had taken to dissuade the Emperor from using force in Poland, they at the same time secretly employed every effort to obtain the exclusion of Stanislaus, the validity of whose election the English minister at Warsaw refused

refused to acknowledge. They had been highly instrumental in promoting the conclusion of the alliance between the Emperor and Augustus, by which the Emperor, in return for the guaranty of the pragmatic sanction, promised assistance to procure his free nomination to the throne of Poland, in opposition to the partizans of Stanislaus, and to support him, if chosen, by force of arms. Chapter 43.  
1733 to 1734.

The king was decidedly in favour of assisting the Emperor; the queen, though desirous of upholding the pacific system of Walpole, did not venture to oppose his wishes; and lord Harrington, who, as secretary of state, principally conducted the negotiation with the court of Vienna, was inclined to the same opinion.

In this crisis of affairs, Walpole stood in a very delicate situation, and was reduced to a disagreeable alternative. On one side, he was to oppose the earnest wishes of the king, to act in contradiction to the sentiments of part of the cabinet, and at the same time to appear as if he was abetting the degradation of the house of Austria, and promoting the aggrandisement of the house of Bourbon. On the other side, he was to plunge the nation into a war for the ostensible purpose of giving a king to Poland, in which England had no immediate concern, in opposition, perhaps, to the public opinion, and at the eve of a general election. But as he had for some time foreseen that he should be reduced to follow one of these disagreeable alternatives, he had previously collected all

*Delicate situation of Walpole.*

Period V. the information necessary to regulate his decision,  
 1730 to 1734 and to enable him to pursue that conduct which  
 seemed liable to the fewest inconveniences.

Improvvidence  
 of the Em-  
 peror.

The Emperor had been repeatedly exhorted to put the Austrian Netherlands in a state of defence; from a certain apprehension, that unless that was effected, the barrier would be exposed, and the Dutch so alarmed, from the danger of being over-run by the French, that they would never have the spirit to act with vigour, in co-operation with England. But instead of hearkening to these just remonstrances, Luxemburgh was alone provided with the necessary means of defence; the fortifications in the other parts were left in a most defenceless state, and the care of them consigned to the English and Dutch; a care which, the greffier Fagell observed in a letter to Bruyninx, "The Dutch, not yet recovered from the expences of the late war, *could not*, and the English *would not* take upon themselves."

The Emperor had also been repeatedly exhorted to conclude a defensive alliance with the king of Sardinia, who was strongly inclined to prefer his friendship to that of France and Spain; and his co-operation, which, instead of opening to the French the key of Italy, would have excluded them from that country, might have been obtained by trifling sacrifices. But the emperor had, either from his usual dilatoriness, or from an unwillingness to cede any portion of the Milanese, declined engaging on his side so important an ally,  
 until

until it was too late; and Charles Emanuel\* apologized to the king of England, that he had been reluctantly compelled, for his own safety and interest, to close with the offers of France and Spain, because the Emperor had refused to comply with his terms. In consequence of this imprudent neglect, and a total inattention to the common means of defence, his Italian dominions were incapable of resisting the inroads of the combined powers.

Chapter 43.  
1733 to 1734.

The situation of the United Provinces did not afford the smallest prospect of inducing them to engage in offensive operations. The leading men were offended with the king of England, for having given the princess Anne in marriage to the prince of Orange, without previous notice, and were suspicious that he was attempting to revive the office of stadtholder. The dread of being exposed to a French invasion, should they take an active part in favour of the Emperor, was so great, that the states general were inclined to accept the offers of France, to conclude a neutrality for the Austrian Netherlands, and to agree not to assist the Emperor, in consequence of any events which related to the Polish election. Repeated remonstrances had been ineffectually made from the British cabinet, against this precipitate measure.

State of the  
United Pro-  
vinces.

At length Walpole, anxious to obtain the co-operation of a power, without whom England could not venture to act, sent his brother Horace† to

Mission of Ho-  
race Walpole  
to the Hague.

\* Walpole papers. Letter from the King of Sardinia to George the Second, March, 1734. Correspondence.

† Horace Walpole's Apology and Dispatches,



Period V.  
1730 to 1734.

April 18,  
1734.

to the Hague, though not in an official capacity, for the purpose of conciliating the leading men, over whom he had great influence, and of persuading the states general to adopt a more manly and decisive conduct. On his arrival at the Hague, he found things in a very indifferent situation; the people in general were much dissatisfied, not only with the conduct of the court of Vienna, but with that of England, upon a mistaken notion, that the king was labouring, out of partiality to the Emperor, to force them into the present war, and was endeavouring to promote the interests of the prince of Orange, at the expence of the Dutch constitution.

The news of the mission of the minister's brother had an instantaneous effect in raising the hopes of the Imperial court\*, and gave a convincing proof that the cabinet of London were serious in their wishes to assist the Emperor, if it could be done without endangering the security of England. It however had no other consequences than to restore the confidence between the two nations, and to conciliate the leading men in Holland. For the Dutch were so dispirited with the defenceless state of the Netherlands, so disgusted with the conduct of the Emperor, and so averse to resume the burthens of war, that he could not bring them to adopt vigorous measures, or to countenance the smallest hopes of joining in offensive operations.†

The

\* Mr. Robinson to Lord Harrington, May 11th, 1733. Grantham Papers.

† Journal of Horace Walpole. Walpole Papers.

The internal situation of England was no less Chapter 43.  
 unfavourable to an immediate breach with France; 1733 to 1734.  
 a long period of peace and tranquillity had increas- State of Eng-  
 ed commerce, agriculture, and the resources of land.  
 the country. The landed proprietors were highly  
 satisfied with the diminution of the land tax, the  
 monied men were no less pleased with deferring  
 the payment of the national debt, the Jacobites  
 were daily decreasing; the Tories, though person-  
 ally hostile to the minister himself, began to expe-  
 rience the comforts of good order, derived from a  
 settled government. Confidence in government  
 had taken place of distrust; and the state of the  
 country, both at home and abroad, exhibited the  
 strongest symptoms of stability and credit. Wal-  
 pole saw and appreciated these happy effects, deri-  
 ved from external peace and internal tranquillity;  
 he was unwilling to risk the unpopularity of impos-  
 ing new burthens; he was well aware that a war  
 with France would renew the hopes and excite the  
 efforts of the fallen party, and realise his constant  
 prediction, that the crown of England would be  
 fought for on British ground.

The result which he drew from this combina-  
 tion of circumstances and events was, that it would  
 be highly imprudent to involve the country in hos-  
 tilities, without the co-operation of Holland. He  
 was fully convinced that the nation would not rea-  
 dily approve a war for a Polish election; and that  
 parliament would not be inclined to grant suffi-  
 cient supplies for so chimerical and distant a  
 project.

He

Period V.

1730 to 1734.

Prudence of  
Walpole.

He did not think it prudent, however, to oppose at once the decided opinion of the king, who was eager for a war. He insinuated the necessity of temporising, till a new parliament was chosen, and the nation could be roused to a sense of the danger which would arise from the aggrandizement of the house of Bourbon, and until the people were made capable of judging, that the only foundation upon which the liberties of Europe could subsist, was the indivisibility of a power like the house of Austria, sufficient to be opposed to the house of Bourbon\*.

It was not however without great difficulty that he obtained the consent of the king and cabinet to adopt a line of conduct, which appeared no less pusillanimous in itself, than opposite to the tenour of the last treaty concluded at Vienna. But he gained his point by firmness and perseverance; by inculcating the necessity of mature deliberation, and of avoiding extremities till it should appear that the measures were no less practicable than advantageous: and he considered it prudent to feel the pulse of public opinion, which ought always to be consulted in cases of such extreme importance as a declaration of war.

Answer to the  
Emperor.

In consequence of this determination, an answer was returned to the request of succours, made by the Imperial court, to the following import, that the king was concerned to see the peace broken, and the Emperor attacked; that he had hitherto

\* Mr. Robinson to Mr. Pelham, Vienna, November 11, 1733. Grantham Papers.

therto employed his best offices, though unsuccessfully, to prevent the rupture, and would now use all possible means to accommodate matters. That the motives hitherto alledged for the commission of hostilities, being founded upon Polish affairs, in which the king had taken no part, but that of using his good offices, it was far from being clear, that he was obliged, purely upon that account, to enter into the quarrel. That as to the demand of succours, the king, though always ready to execute his engagements, and shew his particular friendship for the Emperor, must yet be satisfied that the demand was founded on positive engagements, before he involved his people in a war. He must therefore, carefully examine the allegations on both sides, and consult his allies, particularly the States General, and put himself in such a posture, as might enable him to provide effectually for his own security, and for the execution of his engagements.

The Emperor, highly indignant at the backwardness of the cabinet, projected an expedient which seemed calculated to forward the accomplishment of his views. Well knowing the aversion of England to the marriage between an archduchess and a prince of the house of Bourbon, and the remonstrances which had been made to him on that subject, not only during the time when he was at variance with England, but even lately by Mr. Robinson, in the strongest manner, on the mere rumour that such a measure was in agitation; he affected to open a negotiation with Spain,

Artful policy  
of the Em-  
peror.



Period V. 1730 to 1734 Spain, to renew the proposal of a marriage between his second daughter and Don Carlos.

On the arrival of a courier from Vienna\*, count Kinski painted in the strongest colours to the king, the great uneasiness and danger of the Emperor's situation; his inability to resist singly the united arms of France, Spain, and Sardinia, and at the same time the little dependance to be placed upon the king of Prussia. He stated the unpromising conduct of several other princes of the empire, and the neutrality already accepted by some of them, together with the strong indications of a resolution and concert among several, even of the electors, to prevent the empire itself from taking any part; and lastly, the despair of assistance from the States General. He concluded these representations with insisting in the Emperor's name, that the king should no longer defer explaining his intention, but should immediately give a positive promise to come, the very next campaign, to his assistance; without this promise, he insinuated, the Emperor must comply with the demands of Spain, in giving his second daughter in marriage to Don Carlos, as the only means still in his power, for extricating himself and family from their present difficulties, for preventing the destruction of the house of Austria, and for preserving the equilibrium in Europe.

Defeated by  
Walpole.

This artful expedient, however, did not succeed. Walpole had not been so much alarmed on a former

\* Continuation of the conduct of England, &c. January 1734. Walpole Papers.

former occasion, at the rumour of such a marriage, as lord Townshend and the other ministers, and he now conceived that matters were considerably changed. He conjectured that the Emperor only threw out this insinuation, with a view to alarm England, rather than with a determination to adopt the measure; and he was of opinion, that even if the Emperor should be in earnest, provided the eldest of the archduchesses was affianced to the duke of Loraine, the marriage of the second with Don Carlos would not be productive of great disadvantages. In all events, to use his own expressions, "Circumstances change; things distant and uncertain must yield to present and certain dangers \*."

In conformity with these sentiments, orders were immediately dispatched to Mr. Robinson, to explain to the Imperial court, the several reasons which made it impossible for the king, even if the Emperor's claim of succours was well founded, to come so soon as was expected to his assistance. He was at the same time to declare, that the king no longer opposed the marriage of the second archduchess with Don Carlos, it being represented to him as the only means left for retrieving the Emperor's affairs, by detaching Spain from France. Mr. Robinson was, however, to insist, that nothing should be concluded in this affair, without the king's intervention, and that due precautions should be taken for preventing the dangers that might

\* Among the Orford Papers, I find some reflections on this subject, written by Sir Robert Walpole. They are without date or signature, but they were undoubtedly made at this period. See Correspondence.

Period V. might be apprehended to the liberties of Europe  
 1730 to 1734. from such an alliance; amongst which, he was to  
 insinuate, that the marrying of the eldest arch-  
 dukes to the duke of Loraine, under the gua-  
 ranty of Spain, was looked upon as one of the  
 most effectual securities.

The king  
 offers his  
 mediation.

About the same time, finding the Dutch utterly  
 averse to encounter the burthens and dangers of a  
 war, and anxious to prevent them from throwing  
 themselves into the arms of France, the minister  
 enforced the absolute necessity of acceding to the  
 neutrality, in compliance with their earnest wishes.  
 The king exhorted the Emperor to acquiesce in  
 the neutrality for the Netherlands, and offered his  
 mediation, in conjunction with the States General,  
 to bring about an accommodation, and to restore  
 peace.

Indignation  
 of the Em-  
 peror.

The declaration in favour of the marriage, which  
 was supposed to be so contrary to the wishes of the  
 English cabinet, and the tender of good offices  
 only instead of effectual succours, so highly irri-  
 tated the Emperor, that his answer to both these  
 propositions, contained no less haughtiness and  
 spirit, than if the affairs of the house of Austria  
 had been in the most prosperous situation.

The declaration concerning the marriage, made  
 a similar impression on all the imperial ministers,  
 They treated the supposition, that the Emperor  
 had ever entertained the least thought of marrying  
 his second daughter to the duke of Parma, as in-  
 jurious; they even affected to doubt that Kinski  
 had ever spoken in the manner imputed to him.  
 And

And in the answer which was delivered by the Emperor's order to Mr. Robinson, upon the 18th of February, the Emperor declared, in the most solemn terms, that he never had any thoughts, nor ever would condescend to purchase peace on those terms, and formally disavowed Kinski, and all others who might ever have given the least hint of that kind, declaring his determined resolution to defend himself to the last extremity.

Chapter 43.

1730 to 1734.

In answer to the offer of good offices, the Emperor peremptorily rejected the proposal of a neutrality for the Netherlands; declared his firm resolution of supporting his cause by force of arms, and so far from temporising, he threatened the Dutch to remove the war into Flanders, by attacking France on the side of Luxemburgh.

With a view of rendering the interposition of England more effectual, and giving weight to the proposal of good offices, Walpole had recourse to his usual method of preventive measures, and adopted the resolution of putting the country in a respectable posture of defence, tempering caution with spirit, and deliberation with energy. The speech from the throne, on the opening of the session, corresponded with these principles. After recommending the utmost prudence and precaution, and exhorting parliament to weigh and consider circumstances thoroughly, before a final determination was taken, to act in concert with the States General, and to avoid precipitate declarations; the king added, "In the mean time, I am persuaded you will make such provisions as shall

Meeting of  
parliament.



**Period V.** 1730 to 1734. shall secure my kingdoms, rights, and possessions from all dangers and insults, and maintain the respect due to the British nation: whatever part it may in the end be most reasonable for us to act, it will, in all views, be necessary, when all Europe is preparing for arms, to put ourselves in a proper posture of defence. As this will best preserve the peace of the kingdom, so it will give us a due weight and influence in whatever measures we shall take in conjunction with our allies. But should the defence of the nation not be sufficiently provided for, it will make us disregarded abroad, and may prove a temptation and encouragement to the desperate views of those, who never fail to flatter themselves with the hopes of great advantages from public troubles and disorders\*.”

\* Journals. Chandler.

---

 PERIOD THE SIXTH:

From the Diffolution of Parliament, to the Death  
of Queen CAROLINE.

1734—1737.

---

## CHAPTER THE FORTY-FOURTH:

1734—1735.

*Successful Operations of the Allies.—Embassy of Horace Walpole to the Hague.—Indignation of the Emperor, and his Attempts to remove Walpole.—Origin, Progress, and Termination of the Secret Convention.—Renewal of Hostilities.—Fluctuating State of the British Cabinet.—Embarrassments and Firmness of Walpole.*

THE Emperor exposed, without the assist- <sup>Success of</sup>  
 ance of a single ally, to the united arms of <sup>the allies.</sup>  
 France, Spain, and Sardinia, was reduced to a  
 most disastrous situation. The Milanese was wholly  
 subdued by the allied forces; the victory of Bi- <sup>May 5</sup>  
 tonto secured to Don Carlos the conquest of  
 Naples and Sicily; and Mantua, the only posses-  
 sion which remained to the Emperor in Italy, was  
 threatened with a siege, and unable to hold out for  
 any length of time. In Germany, the Imperial  
 forces, though commanded by Eugene, were too  
 inferior to resist the operations of the French; the  
 capture of Treves, Traerbach, and Philipsburgh,  
 opened

Period VI. opened to the French the entrance into the Em-  
 1734 to 1737. pire, and Eugene was compelled to act on the  
 defensive.

Preparations  
 in England.

This disastrous situation of the Austrian affairs, alarmed the British cabinet; and though the minister was firmly resolved to avoid hostilities, yet he saw the immediate necessity of augmenting the forces, both in England and Holland, and to be at all events prepared for war.

The great object was, to secure the concurrence of the United Provinces, and to prevail on them to act in concert with England, that the mediation of the two maritime powers might be accepted by the Emperor, and respected by France and her allies.

Embassy of  
 Horace  
 Walpole to  
 the Hague.

July 27, 1734.

In order to obtain the co-operation of Holland, Horace Walpole had been again dispatched to the Hague, with the character of ambassador extraordinary, and had warmly pressed the States General to augment their forces; and although his representations had not been attended with due effect, yet he had considerably removed the jealousy and disagreement which had recently arisen between the two maritime powers, and gave hopes that his attempts might prove successful.

Remon-  
 strances of  
 the Emperor :

While these transactions were passing between the king and the Republic, under the promise of inviolable secrecy on both sides, frequent memorials were presented by count Kiniski, calling upon the king in the strongest manner, to fulfil his engagements towards the Emperor, by sending instantly the most effectual succours.

Although

Although no specific answer could be returned whilst the negotiation at the Hague was depending, yet previous intimations had been given to the Imperial court, that no immediate assistance could be expected from England in the present situation of affairs.

Chapter 44.  
1734 to 1735.

But as soon as the negotiation was brought to a conclusion, and it was determined to make the offer of their joint mediation and good offices for an accommodation of the differences, Lord Harrington gave to count Kinski, an account of this resolution; and orders were transmitted to their ministers at Paris and Madrid, to propose a general pacification through the mediation of the maritime powers. The Emperor received the notification communicated by Mr. Robinson, with no less surprise than indignation, and his minister delivered in a strong and pointed memorial. In this paper, the Emperor insisted on the rectitude of his own conduct and views, the insincerity of France, and the wanton aggressions of the allies; claimed from the maritime powers effectual co-operation to insure the guaranties stipulated by existing treaties, previous to his acceptance of their proposed mediation, and added, he would never have acted as they had, and after a delay of nine months, offered his mediation instead of sending assistance\*.

While the answer to this memorial was preparing in concert with the States General, the

His indignation against Walpole.

Emperor

\* Réponse de la cour Imperiale aux representations de Messrs. Robinson et Bruininx, 30 Juin, 1734. Walpole Papers.



Period VI.  
1734 to 1737.

Emperor became indignant at the delay, and imputing the denial of succours to the influence of Sir Robert Walpole, broke out into the most intemperate expressions against him. Totally unacquainted with the first principles of the English constitution, forming, from the accounts transmitted by count Kinski, wrong notions of the king's power, and of the state of parties, and knowing that George the Second was personally eager for the war, he entertained the most sanguine hopes that the nation would be brought over to his opinion.

Under these impressions, he revived the chimerical plan which he had ineffectually adopted in 1726, of appealing to the nation against the minister. His ambassador in London caballed with opposition; endeavoured to excite the sympathy of the nation; threw the blame of his depression on Sir Robert Walpole; appealed to the king's feelings, and to his inveterate hatred of the house of Bourbon, and endeavoured, by means of the Empress, to interest queen Caroline in his favour.

These imprudent attempts did not escape the knowledge of Walpole. An intercepted letter from the Emperor to count Kinski, fully developed the plan in agitation, and displayed the threats which Charles the Sixth was weak enough to suppose would alarm the minister, and compel him to act offensively against France.

He even carried his resentment so far, that he attempted to obtain the removal of Walpole, by means

Attempts to  
effect his re-  
moval.

means of a meddling emissary, who was ill calculated to succeed in so difficult an enterprize. Chapter 44.  
1734 to 1735.

This emissary was Strickland, bishop of Namur, by birth an Englishman, and by religion a Roman catholic. Warmly attached to the cause of the Pretender, he sacrificed his country to his principles, and was promoted to the Abbey of Saint Pierre de Preaux, in Normandy. In the latter end of the reign of George the First, he maintained a correspondence with the opposition; and through their interest with the Emperor, he was raised to the bishopric of Namur; he afterwards became a spy to the English ministry, and rendered himself so useful, that he was considered as a proper person of confidence to reside at Rome, for the purpose of giving information with regard to the Pretender. With this view, lord Harrington \* applied to the Emperor for his interest to obtain for him a cardinal's hat; and Mr. Robinson was ordered to second that recommendation with his whole influence. The bishop being a man of an artful and intriguing turn, plausible in his manner, and having gained great credit for his strict regularity and disinterestedness in the management of his diocese, was admitted to several audiences of the Empress, and so far insinuated himself into her good graces, that he was employed to thwart the marriage of the eldest archduchess with Don Carlos, to which she had an insuperable aversion.

During

\* Walpole and Grantham Papers. Mr. Robinson to lord Harrington, September 8. To Horace Walpole, November 13, 1734. Correspondence.

Period VI.

1734 to 1737.

During these audiences, he artfully insinuated such remarks on the mismanagement of the Imperial ministry, as induced the Empress to obtain for him a private audience of the Emperor. He availed himself of this permission to present several memorials, for the amelioration of the domestic affairs, which were well received by the Emperor, fond of new schemes, and inclined to think unfavourably of his ministers. From these topics, he digressed to lord Harrington's recommendation, and represented himself as capable either of forcing the British administration to enter into the war, or if that failed of success, of driving out Sir Robert Walpole, through the intrigues of opposition. The Emperor weakly acceded to this proposal, and supplied the bishop of Namur with private credentials to the king and queen of England. On his departure, he was instructed to take advantage of the decided inclination of the king to enter into the war, of the apparent lukewarmness of the queen to support the pacific system, and of the disunion of sentiments in the ministry.

The bishop of Namur was received by the king and queen in so gracious a manner, as to give umbrage to Sir Robert Walpole. He had a long and secret conference with Lord Harrington\*; reports were soon in circulation, that he would draw the nation into a war, and that he was privately supported by the king and queen, and abetted by lord Harrington; and that the fall of the minister would be the immediate consequence.

It



It became necessary to discredit these rumours. Chapter 44.  
 Horace Walpole hinted to lord Harrington his <sup>1734 to 1735.</sup>  
 opinion of the bishop, and the ill policy of ap- <sup>Counteracted</sup>  
 pearing to countenance so dangerous a person. <sup>by Walpole.</sup>  
 In the private correspondence which he held with  
 queen Caroline\*, he also artfully represented the  
 impropriety of giving such a reception to a mis-  
 sionary who was so favourable to the opposition;  
 he urged the necessity of not suffering a person of  
 his suspicious character to remain in England; and  
 insinuated that the Emperor should be undeceived  
 in his notion, that the king was of a different  
 opinion from the ministry, and be positively in-  
 formed that England could not take a part in the  
 war. Walpole, in concert with his brother, sup-  
 ported this measure, and suggested to the queen,  
 that she should herself write to the Empress†, to  
 contradict the false accounts sent by Kinski and  
 the bishop of Namur, and candidly to declare that  
 no succours could be given by England, until the  
 offer of the mediation had been rejected. The  
 minister carried his point; the bishop of Namur  
 was civilly dismissed; the king was either con-  
 vinced of the necessity of adopting pacific measures,  
 or yielded reluctantly to a plan which he could not  
 venture to oppose. Lord Harrington submitted  
 to the superior influence of Walpole; and the  
 Emperor, with some hesitation, agreed to admit  
 the

\* Orford Papers. Letter to queen Caroline, October 18-29, 1734.  
 Correspondence.

† Correspondence.



Period VI. the good offices, and to accept the mediation of  
 1734 to 1737. the maritime powers.

Meanwhile, a secret negotiation was suddenly opened with France, which seemed at first to afford a prospect of a speedy accommodation, and on that account was eagerly embraced by Sir Robert Walpole, but which involved both him and his brother in considerable embarrassments, excited, in the course of its progress, the displeasure of the king, and occasioned a temporary disagreement among the ministers.

Intimacy of  
 Horace  
 Walpole  
 with baron  
 Gedda,

Horace Walpole maintained an intimate correspondence with baron Gedda, the Swedish minister at Paris, for whom he procured an annual pension of £.400; and as Gedda was on good terms with cardinal Fleury, and had communicated the private sentiments of the French minister, Horace Walpole had, at the suggestion of his brother, found means to convey hints for a general accommodation.

Embarrassing  
 situation of  
 the cabinet.

The situation of the British cabinet was exceedingly embarrassing; being reproached on one side by the Emperor for not fulfilling the guaranty by declaring war, and on the other by France, for not being cordially disposed to favour a peace, it became expedient to take a decided part. But the co-operation of the United Provinces was considered by the minister as a necessary means to insure success.

The disposition of persons and affairs in Holland was so timid and fluctuating, as to afford  
 little

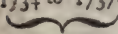
little hope of terminating hostilities, unless France could be induced, of her own accord, to open a negotiation. For it was sensibly urged \* by the ambassador at the Hague, that although these conditions might not be such as would be accepted by the Emperor, yet if they were once proposed to him by England and the States General, he would be undeceived in his fond expectations, that those powers would enter into the war for the purpose of recovering his dominions in Italy, and be inclined to turn his attention to some expedient for an accommodation.

With this view, Horace Walpole, with the private approbation of his brother, employed the intervention of his friend at Paris, and finally obtained the object so much desired. Baron Gedda acquainted him, that the cardinal, impressed with a desire to give peace to Europe, proposed to enter into a confidential correspondence with him, for the purpose of settling the preliminaries for a general pacification, to be communicated to no one but the Pensionary Slingelandt †. This overture being considered by a part of the cabinet as tending only to amuse, and as a snare employed by France, to prevent the adoption of vigorous measures, was at first warmly opposed; but being supported by queen Caroline and Sir Robert Walpole, and those members of administration, who adhered to their opinion, it was immediately accepted;

Overtures of  
cardinal  
Fleury.

\* Horace Walpole to Sir Robert Walpole, August 6, 1734. Correspondence.

† Horace Walpole to the queen. Walpole Papers.

Period VI. 1734 to 1737.  cepted; a private correspondence took place, and the cardinal proposed to send a confidential person, by the name of Jannel, to the Hague, to settle and conclude the terms to which England or France would previously accede, before they were communicated on one side to the Emperor, and on the other to the allies of France.

Correspondence with Horace Walpole.

This proposition of Cardinal Fleury being approved by the cabinet, an interesting correspondence took place between him and Horace Walpole, concerning the previous conditions to be settled for adjusting the preliminaries. The letters of the cardinal, and the answers of Horace Walpole, were transmitted to England for the approbation and direction of the king, and private accounts were regularly forwarded to Sir Robert Walpole.

Application and influence of Walpole.

During these transactions, Sir Robert Walpole bestowed extraordinary pains on foreign affairs. Besides holding a secret and constant correspondence with his brother, and suggesting, through his means, those sentiments with which he wished to impress the queen, he examined with peculiar attention the dispatches to and from the secretaries of state; took notes, and made references of the most important letters; and although he displeased the king by his firmness in suggesting pacific measures, and in some instances was secretly thwarted by lord Harrington, who acted in deference to the views of his sovereign, yet he would not suffer any measure to be pursued without his approbation, and directed or controuled the whole series of this intricate negotiation.

In



In consequence of this confidential intercourse, Jannel arrived at the Hague on the 5th of November; continued there only three days, and had three very important conferences with Horace Walpole and the Pensionary, with such secrecy, that his arrival was not suspected, until he had taken his departure. Of these three conferences, Horace Walpole transmitted an accurate and well written account to the British cabinet. An arrangement was taken towards settling the preliminaries, in which the two parties, after proposing terms which could not be acceded to on either side, gradually approached each other, and seemed to be not very distant from the probability of coming to an amicable agreement. The terms proposed by Jannel, and opposed or assented to by Horace Walpole, were to be referred on one side to the cardinal, and on the other to the British cabinet.

Chapter 44:  
1734 to 1735.  
Negotiation  
with Jannel  
at the Hague.

A plan for the preliminaries was now to be proposed by the cabinet, and forwarded to the Hague, for regulating the conduct of the ambassador.

In order to engage England and Holland in the war, the Emperor had withdrawn all his troops from the barrier towns, and confined himself to the defence of Luxemburgh. He represented that it was more the interest of the maritime powers than his own, to preserve the Low Countries from France, and therefore he should leave to them the care of their defence. This resolution had been privately taken without the knowledge of Walpole,

Walpole en-  
forces pacific  
measures.



Period VI. 1734 to 1737. Walpole, in concert with the king and lord Harrington, who were no less anxious than the Emperor to commence hostilities against France. In consequence of this resolution, a plan was drawn up by lord Harrington\*, to be forwarded to Horace Walpole. It was worded in a most artful manner, and appeared to have no other design than to preserve the Low Countries from France. The ambassador was ordered to insinuate to the Dutch, that if they would authorise the king to assure the Emperor of their design to augment their forces, his majesty would endeavour to prevail on the Emperor to send, without delay, a sufficient number of men from the Rhine for the defence of the Low Countries; and that the king, at the requisition of the Dutch, according to the tenour of the barrier treaty, would supply 10,000 men, provided they would furnish an equal number.

This dispatch, before it was sent to the Hague, was forwarded by a messenger to Sir Robert Walpole, who was then at Houghton, for his approbation. The minister highly disapproved the measure, and thought it necessary to express his disapprobation in such strong terms, that lord Harrington totally relinquished his design. In his answer to Walpole, he testified his concern that the draught which he proposed to write to Horace Walpole concerning the Netherlands, was so strongly

\* Lord Harrington to Horace Walpole, Whitehall, November 5-16th, 1734. Correspondence.

strongly condemned \*. “The letter itself,” he added, “is not sent.”

Chapter 44.

1734 to 1735.

Soon afterwards, lord Harrington drew up, by order of the king, a plan for the preliminaries, which was calculated to throw obstacles in the way of the negotiation with France, and to check the eagerness of Horace Walpole, for immediately modifying and closing with the propositions of cardinal Fleury. These instructions were to be forwarded to the Hague, in a letter to the ambassador by which he was to be implicitly guided in this delicate business †. He prepared this letter on the 12th of November; but as it was an affair of too great importance to be precipitately decided without the concurrence of the minister, who was then at Houghton, he dispatched a messenger with a letter, enclosing a copy, and requesting his opinion. This plan met with no less disapprobation than that which related to the Netherlands; and Walpole was never engaged in a more difficult or delicate part. Although he well knew that to disapprove or alter it, was in effect to act in direct contradiction to the sentiments and wishes of the king, yet he did not hesitate to adopt that resolution. He considered the plan as wholly formed by lord Harrington; and in a very frank and candid manner, gave his objections, without attempting in the smallest degree to conceal, or even to palliate his opinion. And perhaps in no instance were the

\* Sidney Papers. November 8th, 1734. Correspondence.

† Lord Harrington to Horace Walpole, November 12, 1734. Lord Harrington to Sir Robert Walpole, November 13, 1734. Correspondence.

Period VI. the integrity, prudence, and firmness of Walpole  
 1734 to 1737 more evident, than in the answer which he re-  
 turned to lord Harrington on this occasion \*.

Secret conven-  
 tion.

In the middle of December, Jannel returned to the Hague, and the conferences were resumed. The consequence of these meetings was, a project of pacification concerted between England and the States, as conformable as possible to the sentiments and desires of France, as they were explained by the cardinal in his private correspondence with Horace Walpole and the Pensionary, and which ought to have been signed at the Hague by Jannel. But as the French ministers had protracted the negotiation, by raising new demands, and creating fresh difficulties, it was thought expedient to satisfy the expectation and impatience of Europe, by publishing the plan.

Accordingly, the king in his speech, which he delivered at the opening of the new parliament, observed, "that in a short time, a plan would be offered to the consideration of all the parties engaged in the present war, as a basis for a general negotiation of peace, in which the honour and interest of all parties had been consulted, as far as the circumstances of time, and the present posture of affairs would permit †."

Insincerity of  
 Fleury.

The French ministers affected to be dissatisfied with this proceeding; they pretended that it was a breach of that secrecy which had been promised, and

\* Sir Robert Walpole to lord Harrington, November  $\frac{18}{26}$ , 1734. Correspondence.

† Journals. Chandler, vol. 9. p. 3.



and remonstrated, that this hasty publication of Chapter 44.  
the conditions for a general peace, would entirely 1734 to 1735.  
frustrate the good intentions of France, by alarm-  
ing the allies. At the same time, Jannel, instead  
of signing the project of the preliminaries, accord-  
ing to the repeated assurances of cardinal Fleury,  
received a new counter project, and fresh instructi-  
ons, which the English and Dutch ministers at the  
Hague could not agree to, and from which he  
could not venture to recede. Thus this import-  
ant negotiation; which had employed six months,  
and had been conducted with the greatest secrecy,  
was suddenly suspended. Jannel quitted the  
Hague, charged with expostulatory letters to the  
cardinal, on the unexpected miscarriage of this  
great work, which was expected to give peace to  
Europe; and on the following day, Horace Wal-  
pole set out for London, carrying with him the  
unsigned project of pacification, which had been  
concerted with the ministers of the Republic.

The principal articles of this project were, the Articles of the  
convention.  
abdication of Stanislaus, on the condition of re-  
taining his title; the evacuation of Poland by the  
Russian Troops; the cession of Naples and Sicily  
to Don Carlos, and of the Tortonese, Novarese,  
and Vigevenasco to the king of Sardinia. To  
the Emperor: the restoration of all the other con-  
quests, the immediate possession of Parma and  
Placentia, and the succession of Tuscany, except  
Leghorn, which was to be created an independant  
republic; France to guaranty the pragmatic sanc-  
tion;



Period VI.

1734 to 1737.

tion; Spain and Sardinia to renew their guaranties. This plan to be considered as the basis of an immediate negotiation for a general peace, and an armistice to be strenuously recommended by the mediators.

The Emperor having testified his inclination to accept this plan, though he afterwards attempted to make some alterations which were inadmissible, it was presented in form to the respective ministers of the Emperor, France, Spain, and Sardinia. The Earl of Waldegrave returned to Paris; with instructions to press the cardinal in the strongest manner to confirm and support this project, according to the most solemn assurances which he had given in his private correspondence with Horace Walpole. But his representations were not attended with effect. The opinion of lord Harrington, which had been confirmed by the earl of Waldegrave in his former dispatches from Paris, that France was insincere in these overtures, and only intended to deceive the British cabinet, proved true, and Sir Robert Walpole was the dupe of his pacific inclinations.

Irresolution of  
Holland.

The real cause of this failure was derived from the irresolution and inactivity of the Dutch, of which Chauvelin, who either governed or influenced the cardinal, availed himself, to prevent the conclusion of the secret convention with England.

Policy of  
Chauvelin.

“One of the fundamental principles of Chauvelin’s politics,” observes Horace Walpole, in a letter

letter to lord Harrington, "was to separate, if possible, the States from England. The basis of all his measures when he entered into the war, was founded upon this principle; and his language and exertions have been from time to time more or less violent and haughty, in carrying it on, according to the appearance of a division or union between the king and the States; and by this same rule or compass, he has dexterity enough to steer the cardinal's pliant temper, or to adapt his own sentiments to the cardinal's, whenever he finds the old gentleman's vigour, from an apprehension of the maritime powers taking jointly a share in this war, begin to swerve and incline to peace."

Chapter 44.

1734 to 1735.

September 4.

In the present circumstances, Chauvelin well knew the Dutch could never be induced to enter into the war, as long as they had no apprehensions for the safety of the Netherlands; and although the Pensionary expressed, in a letter to the cardinal, his sentiments in strong and lively terms in favour of the project, with a view to support and add weight to the representations of Horace Walpole; yet the effect of his letter was fully counterbalanced by the report made by Fenelon, the French ambassador at the Hague, of the profound tranquillity in Holland, and of the determined resolution of the Dutch not to engage in hostilities.

The British cabinet now roused itself from its pacific lethargy, and Walpole himself was foremost in recommending and enforcing the necessity

Active preparations in England.

Period VI. of making the most active exertions. Two mo-  
 1734 to 1737- tions, warmly supported by him, were carried in the  
 Feb. 7. and 24. house of commons, though not without great op-  
 position \*, for taking 30,000 seamen and 26,000  
 foldiers into pay, in addition to 12,000 men in  
 Ireland, and 6,000 Danes, according to the sub-  
 diary treaty with Denmark.

While these augmentations were making with unusual vigour, it was determined to lay before the States General the strongest representations, for the purpose of stimulating them to similar exertions, though all hopes of effecting a general accommodation were not absolutely relinquished. Horace Walpole was directed to take Paris in his route to the Hague, to expostulate with the cardinal on his evasive conduct, to induce him if possible to ratify the terms to which he had consented, if he did not succeed in that effort, to endeavour at least to procure an armistice; and at all events to obtain the final sentiments of France, that at his return to the Hague, he might be able to concert proper measures with the States.

Horace Wal-  
 pole expostu-  
 lates with car-  
 dinal Fleury.

Horace Walpole pursued the object of his mis-  
 sion with no less spirit than address. In a long con-  
 ference with the cardinal, he explained the motive  
 and purport of his mission, recapitulated the rise,  
 progress, and issue of the secret negotiation, ob-  
 viated the principal objections which had been  
 urged by the cardinal in his last letters, and sup-  
 ported each article of the project of pacification,  
 which Jannet ought to have signed at the Hague,  
 he

\* 256 to 183, and 261 to 208. Chandler.



he stated, in the strongest manner, the fatal consequences which might result from his refusal to fulfil his promise, and pressed him to a speedy consent to the plan and armistice. The cardinal, in reply, pleaded the impossibility of compliance, by reason of the general outcry of the French nation, council of state, and allies against the plan, as partial and dishonorable; he particularly represented the impropriety of the demand, that France should guaranty the pragmatic sanction, without any advantage in return; and asserted that Tuscany, with Parma and Placentia, in addition to the Milanese, would render the Emperor more formidable in Italy than he was before the rupture: he also hinted at the danger of disobliging Spain, and of compelling her to conclude a separate accommodation with the Emperor.

To these objections, Horace Walpole answered with such address and force, and alarmed the cardinal so much, by declaring that the miscarriage of the negotiation would be followed by a general war, or a family alliance between the courts of Madrid and Vienna, that he brought him in appearance to approve an armistice, for setting on foot an immediate negotiation, and to promise to use his influence with the king of Sardinia, and by this means to force Spain to accede. He also expressed his willingness, that France and the maritime powers should sign a declaration, engaging to promote, by a secret and confidential concert, the conclusion of a peace, on the conditions regulated in the late correspondence. His approbation



Period VI. 1734 to 1737. was even carried so far, that when Horace Walpole produced a project of a declaration, consonant to the cardinal's new propositions and wishes, he expressed his readiness to take it into consideration, and promised to exert his whole influence to bring the great work to a happy conclusion \*.

Yet, notwithstanding these solemn assurances, he either had not power, or wanted inclination to fulfil his promise; he soon after observed, that the project laid before the king of France, was deemed inadmissible; and that the article of the armistice, if ratified, would cover France with shame, and deprive her of all her allies.

It was now evident that the cardinal could no longer abide by his declarations of disinterestedness, and that he was endeavouring to suggest some artful means, by which he could contradict his own assertions; that France required nothing for herself. It was plain, though he did not venture to avow it, that Lorraine was the object of her wishes, and that as long as the allies continued to be successful against the Emperor, and England and Holland did not take an active and manly part, the strongest representations would have no effect.

In vain therefore Horace Walpole reproached the cardinal with the duplicity and weakness of his conduct; in vain he renewed his instances for a suspension of arms, and represented the fatal consequences which would probably result from his refusal; in vain he threatened to publish an account

\* Horace Walpole's Dispatches to the duke of Newcastle, and to Pensionary Slingelandt, April 4th and 6th, 1735. Walpole Papers.

count of the whole transaction, and expose him to the world.

Chapter 44.  
1734 to 1735.

The cardinal was abashed and confounded, but not in the least convinced, or moved to compliance. Although he affected earnestly to desire that a plan of pacification should be formed and ratified, yet he could not be induced to explain himself, either on the terms or the method, and delivered his sentiments in so confused and inarticulate a manner, that the British ambassador could collect nothing but vague promises, without any specific proposals. Horace Walpole accordingly departed from Paris, leaving the negotiation in the same state in which he found it on his arrival.

Lord Harrington in this instance spoke the unanimous language of the British cabinet, when in his instructions to Horace Walpole \*, he painted in the strongest terms, the king's concern and indignation at the cardinal's late conduct towards him and the States. He observed that this conduct, whether the effect of artifice or irresolution, made it equally unwise and inexcusable to rely, without being at the same time well provided against all events, upon any future transaction with the cardinal, for bringing about a termination of the present troubles, which threatened to subvert the balance of Europe. He said, the time was now come, in which it was indispensably incumbent

\* Walpole Papers. Lord Harrington to Horace Walpole, 15th April, 1735.

Period VI.  
1734 to 1737.

cumbent upon the maritime powers to defend the liberties of Europe; and to lose no time in putting themselves into a condition to act with vigour, whenever they should find it necessary: He added, that the king hoped the states would immediately make the proper augmentation of their forces, as he had himself done, by sea and land, in order to disabuse France and her allies in their presumption upon the supineness of the republic, and to be in readiness to take such measures, in concert with England, as the preservation of their own, and the liberties of Europe might require.

Ineffectual.

In vain Horace Walpole strenuously exerted himself in pursuit of these instructions. The recollection of the haughty and unfriendly conduct of the Imperial court; of the defection of England, at the peace of Utrecht, without securing a sufficient barrier to the States; their jealousy of the prince of Orange, increased by his late marriage with the princess Anne; a total disregard for the losses of the Emperor in Italy, which they did not consider as their immediate concern, and the security of the Low Countries, by the convention of neutrality concluded with France on the first appearance of a rupture, contributed to prevent the Dutch from taking any part in the war. These resolutions were fortified by the melancholy consideration of the exhausted and distressed state of the republic; by an opinion, generally prevalent in Holland, of the cardinal's pacific disposition, and of the moderation of France; and particularly by the apprehension of confirming the Emperor



peror in his supposed aversion to peace, by any Chapter 44.  
 appearance of vigour. Accordingly the States, 1734 to 1735.  
 instead of taking an active part, renewed their in-  
 stances to the respective powers, for a favourable  
 answer to the plan of pacification.

The Emperor was unwilling to agree to the Impediments  
to the nego-  
tiation.  
 previous conditions, unless the maritime powers  
 engaged, should these conditions not be accepted  
 by the allies, to commence hostilities; but they  
 declined taking upon them this engagement, be-  
 cause they suspected that the Emperor would  
 throw obstacles in the way of the pacification, for  
 the purpose of bringing on a general war, which  
 was the great object of his wishes. The Emperor  
 behaved peevishly to England, and presumptuously  
 to the States, who were dissatisfied with him, and  
 suspicious that England was acting in concert with  
 him to their prejudice.

The situation of affairs in Holland inspired car- Hostilities  
renewed.  
 dinal Fleury with sufficient resolution to urge, in  
 a private letter to Horace Walpole, a heavy ac-  
 cusation against him and the Pensionary, for  
 having divulged the secret correspondence, and to  
 justify himself in his refusal to comply with the  
 conditions of the plan; and he added, that the  
 publication of the plan had raised such indig-  
 nation in the whole council, that he could not  
 venture to avow or espouse it. The main view  
 of this letter was to close the secret correspondence April 30.  
 with Horace Walpole; to serve as a preliminary  
 to the answer of the allies, who rejected the terms  
 of pacification proposed by the maritime powers,



Period VI. and to justify another campaign, which was opened  
 1734 to 1737. with redoubled exertion.

Thus ended this important negotiation, in which cardinal Fleury, or rather Chauvelin, who governed the cardinal, deceived the British cabinet, lured the Dutch with the hopes of a pacification, and prevented them both from taking such vigorous measures as would have stopped the allies in the career of conquest.

Motives of  
 Fleury's con-  
 duct.

Yet cardinal Fleury does not seem to deserve the reproaches for duplicity which were now lavished upon him. We are too apt to estimate the conduct of other nations, from what passes in our own, without duly considering the peculiar situation and circumstances of those with whom we are negotiating, and without knowing the real state of the public opinion, which every minister, even in the most despotic countries, is in some measure obliged to consult. The real truth seems to be, that the English cabinet expected terms from France which could not be complied with; that cardinal Fleury was probably sincere in his first overtures for peace, but was persuaded by the representations of Horace Walpole, who had gained great ascendancy over him during his embassy at Paris, to accede to conditions, which he could not afterwards venture to propose to the king and council of France. That on sober reflection, he conceived it highly dishonourable in Louis the Fifteenth to desert Stanislaus, in support of whom the war had been undertaken, merely to obtain the transfer of some dominions  
 in

in Italy to Don Carlos and the king of Sardinia, without either effecting this object, taking vengeance on those who prevented it, or obtaining some acquisition which might serve as an indemnity for the expences of the war, and justify to the people in France, the dereliction of the cause for which hostilities had been undertaken.

Chapter 44.  
1734 to 1735.

The object of Spain was to drive the Emperor from Italy; the king of Sardinia expected the whole Milanese; while France, under the mask of moderation and professions of disinterestedness, aimed at the acquisition of Loraine.

Objects of  
the allies.

To reconcile such jarring interests, and to effect a general pacification, was not in the power of a divided cabinet, whose measures fluctuated with continued versatiliy. Orders were occasionally given by lord Harrington, in conformity to the sentiments of the king, and contrary to those of the first minister. These orders were sometimes opposed, or at least secretly counteracted by Walpole; either by himself, in his personal conferences with the king and queen, or by means of the suggestions made by Horace Walpole, in his private correspondence with the queen, or by the agency of the duke of Newcastle, who at this period was devoted to him. Various instructions were conveyed to the foreign ministers, each contrary to the other, as the inclinations of the king and lord Harrington in favour of war, or the pacific sentiments of the first minister, gained the ascendancy.

Fluctuating  
state of the  
English ca-  
binet.

The

Period VI,  
1734 to 1737.

Displeasure of  
the king.

The king was highly displeased with the refusal of the minister to enter into the war, and gave such unequivocal signs of his displeasure, that queen Caroline could not venture to attempt openly to promote or justify his measures. But with a view to exculpate his conduct, she artfully threw the blame on Horace Walpole, whom she often rallied in the king's presence as the principal cause of the inactivity of England, and hinted that his brother had been directed by his advice, influence, and known interference in foreign affairs\*.

#### CHAPTER THE FORTY-FIFTH:

1735—1736.

*Event of the general Elections.—Meeting of the new Parliament.—Proceedings.—Prorogation.—Difference between Spain and Portugal—adjusted by the armed Mediation of England.—Progress of Hostilities between the Allies and the Emperor.—Detail of the various Negotiations which led to the Conclusion of the Preliminaries.—King's Speech.—Unanimity of Parliament, in regard to Foreign Affairs.*

THE minister and his friends laboured under great disadvantages, and had many difficulties to encounter in the management of the general elections. The inactivity and neutrality of England, became a matter of popular infamy; and even men of professed impartiality, severely censured Walpole, by whose influence the inclinations of the king and the cabinet to assist the house of Austria were restrained. The common topics

\* Horace Walpole's Apology. Walpole Papers.



topics of want of spirit, and the dereliction of national honour, had great effect in exciting discontent, while the advantages derived from the continuance of peace to trade, manufactures, and agriculture, being tacitly progressive, did not immediately attract public attention, or procure their deserved applause. The rapid success of the French and Spanish arms, and the humiliation of the house of Austria, increased the national dissatisfaction. But above all, the excise scheme had excited ill humour and violent clamours, and it was imprudently introduced a short time before the dissolution of parliament. It was particularly offensive in Scotland, where the frauds in the customs were more extensive than in England. The greater part of the Whigs in Scotland were irritated against the court, and a large number manifested their dissatisfaction, in the manner of their opposition on the election of the sixteen peers. Several of the Presbyterians were averse to the minister for the continuance of the test act, the repeal of which, notwithstanding repeated declarations of his private good wishes, he had never promoted.

Walpole embarked in support of his friends in many expensive contests, and expended a large sum out of his own private fortune\*. The expenses of the contested election for the county of Norfolk amounted to £. 10,000, and yet he failed of success. The two candidates, Morden and Coke, who stood for the Whig interest, and whom

he

\* Etough says £. 60,000.



Period VI. he supported, were supplanted by Bacon and  
 1734 to 1737. Woodhouse, who were favoured by the Tories.  
 In consequence of these difficulties and defeats in his own county, the return of members who supported his administration was inferior in number to those who sat in the last parliament.

The new parliament assembled on the 14th of January. The speech from the throne alluded to a plan, formed in concert with Holland, as a basis for a general negotiation; mentioned the treaty with Denmark; and concluded by observing, that while war was raging in Europe, it would be proper for Great Britain to maintain herself in a posture of defence.

The opposition to the address, in both houses, was vehement and formidable. The amendments proposed by opposition, were supported with great ability, and the divisions of the anti-ministerial party were in the upper house 37 against 87, and in the commons 185 against 265.

During this session few debates of importance occurred, and none which personally affected the minister. Although he permitted several motions, made by opposition, to pass without a division, and in the contested elections as many were carried against as for administration, yet the material points proposed by government were carried. The subsidiary treaty with Denmark was approved; £.794,529 was granted for the land service, and 30,000 seamen were voted.

The attention of the house of lords was occupied by a petition from several Scotch peers, complaining

plaining of undue influence in the election of the sixteen. The minister was accused of engaging votes by various acts of corruption, and of over-awing the electors by the presence of troops. The principal persons who conducted this attack, were those who had been deprived of their places, but though it was managed with great address and asperity, it terminated in his favour. The strength of the opposition was proved by the smallness of the majority, which on the first division was 90 against 47, and on the second, 73 against 39. Two violent protests were entered, the first signed by 33, the second by 32 peers \*.

The session was closed by prorogation on the 15th of May, when the king, in his speech from the throne, expressed his intention of visiting his German dominions, and appointing the queen regent during his absence, of whose just and prudent administration, he had on the like occasion had experience. "Let me," he concluded, "earnestly recommend it to you to render the burthen of this weighty trust as easy to her as possible, by making it your constant study and endeavour, as I am sure it is your inclination, to preserve the peace of the kingdom, and to discountenance and suppress all attempts to raise groundless discontents in the minds of my people, whose happiness has always been and shall continue my daily and uninterrupted care †."

The secret correspondence with cardinal Fleury was scarcely closed, when a dispute between Spain and

\* Lords' Debates.

† Chandler. Journals.

Period VI.  
1734 to 1737.

and Portugal brought on another series of intricate negotiations, and threatened to spread still wider the horrors of war\*.

Affairs of  
Portugal.

John the Fifth, king of Portugal, had espoused the archduchess Mary Ann, sister of the Emperor Charles the Sixth, and his connection with the house of Austria, had increased the hatred which his family bore to France. For some time after the peace of Utrecht, a great coolness had taken place between him and Philip the Fifth, the natural consequence of situation and connections. At length their jealousy and rivalry in some measure subsided, and the two courts were reconciled by a double marriage between Ferdinand, prince of Asturias, and Barbara, infanta of Portugal, and between Joseph, prince of Brasil, and the infanta of Spain. But this marriage did not long operate in preserving harmony, and a diplomatic dispute nearly produced an open rupture.

Dispute with  
Spain.

The servants of Don Cabral de Belmonte, the Portuguese minister at Madrid, being accused of violently rescuing a malefactor from the officers of justice, were arrested and carried to prison. The minister having complained of this insult, as an infraction on the law of nations, was warmly supported by his court: at the same time the Spanish ambassador at Lisbon, demanded satisfaction

\* The substance of the remaining part of this chapter is principally taken from the same documents as the forty-fourth, from a second continuation of the paper, intitled, "Conduct of England, &c." from July to December 1734, and from "A Summary Deduction of the Considerations of Public Affairs, from the Delivery of the Project of Accommodation by the Maritime Powers, to their Approbation of the Vienna Preliminaries," from February 1735 to January 1736. Walpole Papers.



fiction for the behaviour of the Portuguese minister, but instead of obtaining redress, he had the mortification of seeing nineteen of his own domestics arrested and sent to prison; and as neither court would give the satisfaction reciprocally demanded, the two ministers retired from their respective embassies, and both nations prepared for immediate hostilities.

Chapter 45.  
1734 to 1736.

Don Azevedo, envoy from the king of Portugal, arrived at London, to solicit, by virtue of the subsisting treaties, and particularly that of 1703, the assistance of England, in favour of the king of Portugal, against an attack which he apprehended from Spain. To this demand the king returned for answer, that he would, agreeably to the honour of his engagements, immediately, in conjunction with the States General, interpose his good offices, and that in the mean time, to secure Portugal from any hostile attempt, especially against the Brazil fleet, which was then upon its return, a strong squadron should be sent to Lisbon; advising the king of Portugal at the same time to shew a readiness in bringing this dispute to an accommodation.

Claims the  
assistance of  
England.

This advice was by no means acceptable to the king of Portugal: he had seen with a jealous eye the recent successes of the Spaniards in Italy; he had beheld, not without regret, an advantageous peace which Philip had lately concluded with the Moors, and he expected, perhaps, that Spain would again revive pretensions on Portugal, which, notwithstanding all renunciations, had never been

Inclined to  
the Emperor.

sincerely



**Period VI.** 1734 to 1737 sincerely relinquished. During the war he had uniformly espoused and approved the conduct of the Emperor; and persons of all ranks and distinctions in Portugal, had expressed their wishes in favour of the same cause. He was still farther exasperated against the court of Madrid, by the repeated complaints of his favourite daughter Barbara, of the ill treatment which she received from the queen of Spain. These concurrent circumstances roused the resentment of John the Fifth, a prince of great spirit; and his violent temper was irritated to such a degree, that he was eager to commence hostilities against Spain, and warmly solicited both the king of England and the Emperor to conclude an offensive alliance. He said \* to lord Tyrawley, the British ambassador at Lisbon, the time was now arrived to reduce Philip to reason; that so favourable an opportunity would never again occur; Spain was left in so defenceless a state by the numerous armies employed in Italy, that a small number of Portuguese would overrun the country without opposition; and that the British fleet would prevent the return of the Spanish troops from Italy. His confidential ministers publicly declared, that if manifestos from the prince of Asturias were dispersed, inviting the Spaniards to shake off the tyranny of the queen, and the incapacity of the king, the whole kingdom would rise in his favour; and with a view to induce England to embrace this measure, it was urged,

\* Walpole Papers. Lord Tyrawley to the duke of Newcastle, May 19, 1735.

urged, that if the attempt of the prince of Asturias <sup>Chapter 45.</sup> succeeded, Philip would be compelled to recal his <sup>1735 to 1736.</sup> troops from Italy, for the defence of his own kingdom; and that the force of the allies being weakened, that the Imperial troops might again acquire the ascendancy, and the house of Bourbon be frustrated in its attempts to lower the house of Austria.

These negotiations concerning the disputes between Spain and Portugal, were necessarily blended with those between the Emperor and the allies. <sup>Prospect of a general war.</sup> The Emperor received the offers of Portugal with avidity, and gave unbounded promises of the most effectual assistance; trusting that if hostilities should take place between Spain and Portugal, England would be drawn into the quarrel, and a general war would be the unavoidable consequence. So great was the difficulty of reconciling two courts, both remarkable for pride and etiquette, and two sovereigns equally intemperate in their anger, and so impossible did it appear to foresee the consequences or controul the events, that a general and bloody war seemed almost inevitable. Affairs wore so gloomy an aspect, that Horace Walpole \* says, in a letter to his brother, "I own I see nothing but black clouds gathering on all sides: I don't see a ray of light to disperse them."

But Sir Robert Walpole did not behold things in so discouraging a light, and the British cabinet, <sup>English squadron sent to Lisbon.</sup> directed by him, acted with no less spirit than caution. In the beginning of June, a squadron of twenty-five ships of the line and several frigates

\* April 29th, 1735. Correspondence.

**Period VI.** failed from Portsmouth, under the command of  
**1734 to 1737.** Sir John Norris, and arrived in the Port of Lisbon. The destination of this fleet made a strong sensation at Paris and Madrid, and gave great weight to the armed mediation of England. Cardinal Fleury was particularly alarmed; he represented to lord Waldegrave \*, in a most pathetic manner, that when the king of Portugal should see *so terrible a fleet* as twenty-five men of war, come to his assistance, he would reject all offers of mediation, the friends of the Emperor at Lisbon would encourage him to attack Spain, Spain would be defended by France, and Portugal by England, and a general war, of which no one could see the bounds, or calculate the effects, would be the inevitable consequence. The British cabinet was not affected with these remonstrances; the squadron was not withdrawn; but a strong representation was made to the courts of Spain and France, that its object was only to protect the trade of the English subjects, and to defend the coast and commerce of Portugal against any attempt: that Sir John Norris was instructed not to act offensively, nor to encourage or assist the king of Portugal in offensive measures. †

**Accommodation between Portugal and Spain.**

This spirited conduct rendered the ministry extremely popular in England, and greatly contributed to restore the tranquillity of Europe. ‡ Spain having at first declined the proffered interposition,

\* Earl of Waldegrave to the duke of Newcastle, June 1st, 1735. Correspondence.

† Mr. Keene to the duke of Newcastle, June 9th, 1735. Keene Papers.

‡ Tindal, vol. 20. p. 291.



position, proposed at length to refer the decision of the differences to England and France; and Portugal, after making ineffectual endeavours to prevail on England to act offensively, finally acquiesced in the mediation of France and the maritime powers. Hostilities, though began in America against the Portuguese colony of St. Sacramento, never reached Europe; a convention, signed at Madrid in July, 1736, under the mediation of the English, French, and Dutch plenipotentiaries, was followed by a peace, concluded at Paris, by which all differences were adjusted\*.

Chapter 45.  
1735 to 1736.

A short time before the Portuguese minister solicited the assistance of England, the Imperial court delivered an answer to the plan of pacification; but this answer was only provisional, and the acceptance of the armistice was restrained to such conditions as rendered it inadmissible. It concluded by exhorting the maritime powers to make such preparations as to be in readiness to act offensively if the allies should reject the plan. The Emperor, † at the same time, stated the right which he had acquired, as well by the treaties made in 1731, as by his conduct since that period, to the friendship and assistance of the maritime powers, against the unjust attacks and ambitious views of the house of Bourbon, ‡ and made the most bitter reflections upon the unmanly and pusillanimous part, which those powers, especially the Dutch, had hitherto acted since the ruptures. It was now evident that

Remonstrances  
of the Emperor.

\* Walpole Papers. Horace Walpole to Sir Robert Walpole, August 16, 1735.

Memoire raisonnée, March 15. Grantham Papers.  
Deduction.



Period VI. the Emperor would not hearken to any over-  
 1734 to 1737. tures of accommodation from the maritime pow-  
 England and ers, unless they promised to assist him, if the allies  
 Holland de- rejected the plan. They deemed it necessary  
 cline assistance. therefore to declare, in the most positive terms,  
 that they would not on any consideration engage  
 in the war; and to represent to the Imperial court,  
 the entering into a particular accommodation with  
 Spain or France; with Spain, by giving in mar-  
 riage an archduchess to Don Carlos, or with  
 France by exchanging Loraine for Tuscany. To  
 this representation no immediate answer was given.

Indignation  
 and despon-  
 dency at Vi-  
 enna.

The notification to the Imperial court, in an-  
 swer to the memorial delivered by count Ulefeldt,  
 that England and Holland declined taking a part  
 in the war, was received at Vienna with the  
 strongest symptoms of surprise and despondency;  
 all that Mr. Robinson could draw from them, was  
 sudden and abrupt declarations of astonishment and  
 affliction to see the Emperor thus abandoned by  
 the very power from whom he principally and  
 solely expected assistance. Bartenstein,\* the con-  
 fidential, though subordinate minister of Charles  
 the Sixth, said, that Europe was lost, the Em-  
 peror was the first sacrifice. He knew, were he  
 Emperor, what party he should take; he would  
 let things follow their own course. The war would  
 end of itself for want of matter to feed the flame.  
 The enemies of the house of Austria would surely  
 not require Vienna; with his hereditary countries  
 the Emperor would still be sufficiently great for  
 himself, though not useful to others.

Prince:

\* Walpole Papers. Mr. Robinson to lord Harrington, July 5th,  
 1735.

Prince Eugene also observed, that the wisest measure which the Emperor could pursue, was to recal all his forces into his hereditary dominions, and suffer France to take the rest, if the maritime powers had no concern for them. But it was count Sinzendorff, who on this, as on all other occasions, used the most violent expressions of passion and fury. Having asked the British minister, if there were no succours to be expected, and receiving for answer, that in all probability there were none, he exclaimed, "What a severe sentence have you passed upon the Emperor! No malefactor was ever carried with so hard a doom to the gibbet." He was for burning Amsterdam, and for giving up Flanders; "there was, and there could be," he added, "no separate negotiation. The only means left for the Emperor, was to set fire to the four corners of the world, and to perish, if he must perish, in the general conflagration."

These violent expressions of indignation and despair, were soon followed by a suitable conduct; the Emperor was alarmed at the negotiations of France, Sweden, and Turkey; at the union, concert, and progress of the allies in Italy; at the retreat of count Königsegg into the Tyrol, which left Mantua to its fate.

He attributed to the treaty of 1731 all his misfortunes, which arose from a determined resolution of the French to destroy his succession, guarantied by that treaty, and principally to the introduction of the 6,000 Spaniards into Italy;

Period VI. which enabled the French to gain over the king  
 1734 to 1737 of Sardinia. Thus abandoned by his allies, he  
 determined to separate himself from the maritime  
 powers, and ordered count Kinsky to express his  
 extreme astonishment at the conduct of England,  
 and to affirm, that he had no other system of ac-  
 commodation, than to submit to his enemies,  
 when deserted by his friends.

In this situation of affairs, the mind of the Em-  
 peror was secretly agitated to such a height, as to  
 raise apprehensions in the Empress, that his un-  
 derstanding might be effected by the conflict.  
 "During the dead of the night," writes Mr.  
 Robinson to lord Harrington, "and while he was  
 singly with her, he gave a loose to his affliction,  
 confusion, and despair." These agitations were  
 augmented by a total distrust of his own minis-  
 ters, excepting Bartenstein, who having less to  
 lose than the others, flattered the Emperor with  
 ideas more suitable to romantic glory, than to  
 ordinary prudence. "This court," he adds, "is  
 desperate, and no prudent man can foresee what  
 may be the effect of a violent despair. The Em-  
 peror, as in a shipwreck, will lay hold on the first  
 plank."

Peremptory  
 request of the  
 Emperor.

July 27th,  
 1735.

The same sentiments were enforced by count  
 Kinsky \*, in an audience of the king at Hanover.  
 He represented the situation and strength of the  
 Imperial troops, and desired his opinion upon the  
 best method of employing them, either by send-  
 ing large detachments into Italy, or by abandon-  
 ing

\* Lord Harrington to the duke of Newcastle, Walpole Papers.  
 Deduction.



ing that territory, except Mantua, and the entries into the Tyrol; by collecting an army on the Rhine, to act offensively against France; or, lastly, by penetrating into France, on the side of the Moselle and the Netherlands. He required at the same time a precise declaration of the king's final intentions on the point of succours, and declared, that the Emperor would consider a delay or silence on this question, as an absolute negative; and must then provide, as soon, and as well as he could, for himself, by way of negotiation, without consulting the maritime powers, or considering their interests. A demand was at the same time made for a subsidy, either public or secret, which would enable him to support a large army in the field, and to lure the king of Sardinia from the party of France and Spain.

Chapter 45.  
1735 to 1736.

While the Emperor was thus appealing to the hopes and fears of the maritime powers, and warmly soliciting succours and subsidies, he threatened to abandon the Low Countries, and even to cede them to France, for the recovery of his Italian dominions, and the guaranty of the pragmatic sanction; a threat which excited strong apprehensions in the British cabinet, and was deprecated as an event of the utmost consequence to the commercial and political interests of England.

Mean time the British cabinet was employed in endeavouring to divide the allies, and in renewing their solicitations for peace, even to the very power by which they had been recently duped

Walpole renews his overtures to France.



Period V.  
1734 to 1737.

and deceived. Sir Robert Walpole was conscious that the only hopes of pacification depended on France, and if she could be brought to a sincere co-operation with England, the other belligerent powers, however averse, could not withhold their assent. He was desirous not to offend the cardinal, by shewing disgust at his duplicity; wished not to be precipitate in divulging the account of the secret negotiation; thought that the publication of that transaction should rather be the consequence than the forerunner or provocation of a war\*. He was fully convinced, from his knowledge of the cardinal's and Chauvelin's characters, that unless the points of concession originated with them†, France would never be brought to guaranty the pragmatic sanction, which he considered as essentially necessary to the preservation of tranquillity in Europe; he was aware that the desperate situation of the Emperor's affairs in Italy, and his unwillingness to act in any degree cordially with the maritime powers, increased the difficulty of obtaining an accommodation, and that a peace would be cheaply purchased by suffering France to acquire Lorraine, provided Tuscany was given in exchange to the duke of Lorraine, the Milanese restored, and Parma and Piacenza ceded to the Emperor, in return for the two Sicilies.

Hints at the  
cession of Lo-  
raine.

In conformity with these views, Horace Wal-  
pole

\* Horace Walpole to Sir Robert Walpole, 26th May 1735. Correspondence.

† Horace Walpole to Sir Robert Walpole, April 18th 1735. Correspondence.

pole hinted, in a dispatch to lord Waldegrave, Chapter 45.  
1735 to 1736.  
the circulation of a rumour in Paris, that the object of France was the acquisition of Loraine, in exchange for Tuscany. Lord Waldegrave, in a conference with the cardinal, casually mentioned this report. The extreme pleasure which this hint gave, the pains he took in setting forth its expediency, and obviating all objections, sufficiently proved that this was the great point which France had in view\*.

While the British cabinet were thus exerting themselves in favour of a pacification, and endeavouring to persuade the Emperor and France to agree to terms of accommodation without the knowledge of the other powers, a secret negotiation was opened between the Emperor and France, without the concurrence of England. At the time that cardinal Fleury was holding the private correspondence with Horace Walpole, he made secret overtures to the Emperor, with the hopes of detaching him from the maritime powers. In his anniversary letter † of compliments to the Emperor, on occasion of the new year, dated December 12, 1734, he had added a postscript in his own hand, expressing, in the strongest terms, his affection and respect for the Emperor's person, as well as his earnest desire to see the peace of Europe restored. The Emperor, besides the usual chancery letter, returned an answer in his own hand, dated February 16th, to the said postscript, declaring

\* The earl of Waldegrave to lord Harrington, June 7th, 1735. Walpole and Waldegrave Papers.

† Walpole Papers. Summary Deduction.

Period VI. 1734 to 1737. declaring his readiness, in conjunction with his allies, to listen to terms of amity, and the facility of obtaining a peace, if the cardinal would heartily promote it. These two letters were put into the hand of the Pope's nuncio at Brussels, to convey them to the cardinal; who, in opening the nuncio's packet (for he opened all his letters at arms length, and in the chimney) dropt the Emperor's particular letter into the fire, and could not recover it before it was defaced. The cardinal informed the nuncio, by a letter of March 10th, of this accident, and expressed his shame and concern. But the Emperor considering this story as a mere fiction to excuse his silence, the correspondence was interrupted.

Soon after this incident, the Emperor, finding all attempts to induce the maritime powers to act offensively against France ineffectual, artfully made distant overtures to Spain, in relation to the marriage of an archduchess with Don Carlos, with the approbation of England. The dread of a similar union between Spain and Austria to that which took place in 1725, alarmed the cardinal; and he accordingly took occasion, by means of a confidential person at Paris, to convey to count Sincendorff his wishes to conclude a peace directly with the Emperor, without the intervention of any other power, and added, that he would either depute a person of confidence secretly to Vienna, or the Emperor might send one to Paris, for the purpose of settling the conditions of a separate accommodation.



To this overture, the Emperor consented, and Chapter 45.  
1735 to 1736.  
 at the very moment when the cardinal was luring the British cabinet with the hopes of opening, under their auspices, a negotiation with the Emperor, he dispatched his agent, la Beaume, to Vienna. This transaction was carried on in so secret a manner, that although some suspicions were entertained; yet the first vague rumour of the mission was communicated by the earl of Waldegrave, on the second of August, \* which he had casually derived from a spy in the secretary of state's office at Paris; and when he taxed the cardinal with his duplicity, the hoary minister did not blush to deny the fact, and because the negotiation was at that moment suspended, offered in the most solemn manner to take an oath on the bible, † that no private negotiation was at that time pending between France and Austria. La Beaume actually passed through the army, and after holding a conference with prince Eugene, arrived and had continued five weeks at Vienna, before Mr. Robinson ‡ entertained the smallest suspicions of the fact. The first intimation which he received from lord Harrington, appeared to him nothing more than an uncertain report, and it was not till after much minute inquiry, that he found the information to be true.

Although the king, in his reply to Kinski, had declared that he would not take upon himself to Anxiety of the  
British cabinet.  
 give

\* Walpole Papers. The earl of Waldegrave to the duke of Newcastle, August 2, 1735. Correspondence.

† The earl of Waldegrave to the duke of Newcastle, September 28, 1735. Correspondence.

‡ Walpole and Grantham Papers.



Period VI. 1734 to 1737. give any advice, and urged that it would be extremely difficult to enter into the war without the concurrence of the Dutch; although he hinted at the several schemes of a separate negotiation; thought the exchange of the dutchies of Lorraine and Tuscany preferable; insinuated the readiness of Spain to accept the second archduchess, and offered to assist in forwarding the match, or to adopt any other method for the purpose of effecting a pacification; yet the Emperor, well aware that the king was strongly inclined to afford active assistance, urged his claim with redoubled instances.

The earnest solicitations of the Emperor, his threats to abandon the Low Countries, and the knowledge of his secret negotiation with France, made a strong impression on the king and cabinet, and gave weight to the opinion of that party which inclined for war. For it was deemed far more eligible to encounter hostilities, than by a refusal of succours to throw the house of Austria into the arms of France, or by permitting the diminution of her territories, to enfeeble the only power which could effectually present a barrier to the encroachments of the house of Bourbon.

Differences in  
the cabinet.

This desertion of the house of Austria in her extreme distress, gave great displeasure to several of the minister's friends and co-adjutors, and to none more than to lord Harrington, who, in his capacity of secretary of state, had the mortification to send instructions, and to forward measures contrary to his own sentiments. "The reasons," he observes,

observes, in a letter to Horace Walpole, "you Chapter 45.  
 alledge to prove that the treaty of Seville was not 1735 to 1736.  
 the cause of the Emperor's misfortunes are unanswerable, and I wish you could suggest as good ones (in case we are forced to it) for justifying to the Emperor our not assisting him; but if that could be done, to justify it to ourselves and our country; considering the present behaviour and operations of France and her allies, nothing but the most absolute inability can do it." \*

In a subsequent letter, lord Harrington † even suggested a measure, which if followed, would probably have involved England in the war: it was to propose to the Dutch, either an augmentation of their forces, or to join the king in requiring from the allies a direct specification of the conditions on which they would conclude a peace, and to declare peremptorily, that unless a positive answer was given, England and the States would decline the mediation, and adopt the necessary measures for preserving their own security, and the equilibrium of Europe. He also urged, if the States should decline both these propositions, that England should withdraw from the mediation, and at the same time acquaint the Emperor, that the king would endeavour to assist him in making a separate peace with any of his enemies, and in failure of that attempt, would join with him afterwards in the war, if an opportunity should arise of doing it with success.

The

\* Walpole Papers. Hanover, August 7th.

† Walpole Papers. Lord Harrington to Horace Walpole, Hanover, August 31.

Period VI. The difference of opinion was now so great, the  
 1734 to 1737. party for war was so warmly supported by the  
 Effect of them king, and that for peace by Sir Robert Walpole,  
 abroad, as to occasion much indecision in the measures  
 pursued abroad, and in the instructions sent to  
 the foreign ministers. The French cabinet avail-  
 ed itself of these circumstances with considerable  
 effect, and particularly in Holland, where Cha-  
 vigny, in his passage through the Hague to Han-  
 over, exaggerated the divided state of adminis-  
 tration. He decried the spirited attempts made  
 by Horace Walpole to infuse vigour and spirit  
 into the counsels of the States General, and pub-  
 licly declared, that the sentiments of the court  
 and ministers of England, differed from the plan  
 of pacification delivered by Horace Walpole to  
 the States, and from the joint resolutions of the  
 king and States, on the subject of the plan and  
 armistice, communicated to the French embassa-  
 dor on the 8th of June.

Sir Robert Walpole had given weight to this  
 opinion, in a private interview with Chavigny, \*  
 who pressed him to bring about a pacification by  
 a secret convention between France and England.  
 He avowed his inclination for peace, and expres-  
 sed his desire to settle the terms with cardinal  
 Fleury, but denied his own power solely to carry  
 any measure into execution. When Chavigny  
 considered him in the light of prime minister, and  
 argued that his known credit with the king would  
 enable him to carry any point he thought ne-  
 cessary :

\* Walpole Papers. Horace Walpole to Sir Robert Walpole, June  
 17th, 1735. Correspondence.

cessary: "Let us suppose," replied Walpole, Chapter 45.  
1735 to 1736.  
 "That I should agree to any measure, without consulting the duke of Newcastle, who is secretary of state for the department of France, and the duke, on being informed of the transaction, should oppose it, what is to be done in that case? and what opinion would you have of me, to find things stopt and overturned by such an opposition?"

It was impossible that affairs could long continue in this state of suspense, and that the tranquillity of Europe could be secured, while the cabinet of England was distracted and embarrassed. It became, therefore, necessary for the honour of the minister, as well as for the preservation of his system, to shew, that whatever private differences might exist in the cabinet, their public opinion was decidedly in favour of pacific measures; and to undeceive the Emperor in his expectations of assistance from the maritime powers, by enforcing the necessity of a separate accommodation either with France or Spain. These two objects were finally attained.

In this dilemma, Walpole acted with the most consummate address. While the official dispatches from Vienna expressed the strongest disapprobation of the secret negotiation with France, and cast the most bitter reflections on the Imperial ministers, his letters, and those of his brother Horace, breathed nothing but pacific sentiments. They \* palliated the conduct of the Emperor, and

\* Horace Walpole to Sir Robert Walpole, December 9th, 1735. Correspondence.



Period VI. 1734 to 1737 and were anxious not to offend either him or France, by a violent and precipitate condemnation of their measures. They asserted, that although the alteration of the project from that offered by the maritime powers, was executed without the co-operation of England, and the king had just reason to complain of inattention and flight, yet as it was entirely agreeable to what England had proposed, the king could blame nothing but the form of proceeding. They observed, that it would be highly unbecoming to take offence at mere punctilious circumstances; they estimated the blessings of peace too highly to suffer etiquette to prevail over prudence, or to object to an agreement, merely because it did not exactly follow the original project; provided peace was the result, they both repeatedly declared, it was no matter by whom or in what manner it was procured.\*

Transmits a  
final answer to  
the Emperor.

But though Walpole was anxious not to disoblige the Emperor, he would not sanction his demand of succours or subsidies; and as the king and part of the cabinet appear to have strongly recommended that measure, he was firm and decisive in enforcing his pacific sentiments. At length, after much opposition and some delays, a paper was transmitted to Mr. Robinson at Vienna, which seems to have been drawn up by the minister. It stated the determined resolution of the king not to take any part in the war, to offer his intervention in favour of the Emperor,

† Horace Walpole to Thomas Robinson. Walpole Papers.

peror, but not to send any assistance either in men or money.

Chapter 45.  
1735 to 1736.

Having arranged these difficult points, his opinion triumphed, and his pacific measures were adopted in their fullest latitude; the British cabinet now steered a steady and uniform course, no longer divided in counsels, or differing in sentiment; and their unanimous exertions were finally crowned with success.

It was their aim to make it the interest of France to co-operate seriously in the restoration of tranquillity, by candidly agreeing to such conditions as would justify cardinal Fleury in deserting Spain, and making a separate accommodation with the Emperor; and this measure could only be effected by facilitating the cession of Loraine to France, in exchange for Tuscany, by leaving to cardinal Fleury and Chauvelin the manner of proposing it, and by submitting the specific plan to the Emperor for his approbation.

The earl of Waldegrave,\* in conformity to instructions sent from the queen, drew from cardinal Fleury a specific acknowledgment of his intentions. After increasing his alarm, at a resolution of the States, which seemed to announce the adoption of more vigorous measures, he represented the calamities ready to fall upon Europe, from his dilatory and irresolute proceedings; that he foresaw nothing but ruin and destruction from beginning and then dropping negotiations, and substituting new projects in their place. He gradually

Plan of pacification:

\* The earl of Waldegrave to the duke of Newcastle, August 24. Correspondence.

Period VI.  
1734 to 1737.

dually obtained, by artful questions, a confession that the exchange of Lorraine for Tuscany, was the great object of France; and finally, under a promise of the strictest secrecy, he prevailed on the cardinal to lay open his scheme for a general pacification, which, with a very few exceptions, was similar to that which had been proposed by the maritime powers. At the same time, the cardinal requested that the plan should be proposed and executed by England in concert with France; and he added, that such a peace, being established on the foundation of justice and reason, he would abandon his allies if they did not comply.

Laid before the  
Emperor.

Having thus prevailed on cardinal Fleury to acquiesce in the intervention of England, the next step was to gain the consent of the Emperor to the terms proposed by France, to be modified by England; and this was effected with equal ability. The British minister at Vienna, \* in a private audience of the Emperor, represented the concern of the king at the unfortunate events of the war, and his indefatigable zeal and ardent wishes in desiring to put an end to the troubles of Europe. He observed, that the disappointment which the king derived from his inability to enter into the war, was equal to that which the Emperor must have experienced in not having received that assistance which he so ardently expected. He urged, that in the present situation of affairs, there seemed no other expedient remaining, than to detach one of the allies, and to carry that project into

\* Thomas Robinson to lord Harrington, August 26th. Walpole Papers.

into execution in the manner most agreeable, the king had expressed a desire to have the Emperor's opinion; and had been anxiously waiting for an answer. He then added, that he had now to submit to the Emperor's consideration, a strong instance of the king's confidence and friendship, which was to communicate the offer of a separate accommodation from France, nearly conformable to the plan proposed by the maritime powers, and acceded to by the Emperor; the cession of Loraine to France in exchange for Tuscany, the decease of the great duke, he concluded by saying, that the Emperor's consent to this plan would infallibly insure a successful issue.

In reply, the Emperor, after returning his grateful acknowledgments to the king for this instance of his friendship, added with much dignity, " Although I relied upon more substantial marks of friendship from the king, whose word was engaged by treaty to assist me with real succours, and although in a similar case I should not have withheld those succours which I stood engaged to by treaty, yet I am willing to believe that the disappointment which I have experienced, however fatal to myself and family, was less owing to want of inclination in the king, than to the impossibility of acting otherwise: notwithstanding this disappointment, I will pay all imaginable deference to the advice now communicated, and will appreciate as it deserves this mark of confidence. But as it is an affair of the highest importance and delicacy, and as the exchange does



Period VI. 1734 to 1737. not totally depend on myself, I cannot give the previous promise which is now desired, even if I were convinced of the success; for the object under consideration is not so much what should be done, but whether it is proper to be done. I again assure you, however, that I will pay the greatest deference to the king's advice, and after I have duly reflected upon it, and consulted my council, if you desire it, will myself give the answer."

Reply.

These declarations were soon followed by various explanations from the Imperial ministers, and finally by a formal answer in writing. As far as could be gathered from the dubious and mysterious manner in which the court of Vienna enveloped their sentiments, it appeared as if the Emperor, on certain conditions, might be induced to accede to the overtures of cardinal Fleury, provided Tuscany was given unconditionally to the family of Lorraine, and the king of Sardinia would accept the Langhes instead of the Tortonese.

Subsequent  
proceedings.

Amidst such discordant views as influenced the conduct of Austria and France, it was not to be expected that any conditions would be finally acceded to on either side without much altercation and delay. But it was a great point gained, that the contending parties seemed gradually drawing towards an amicable compromise. The object of England was secretly to assist in keeping up the intercourse recently established between the Emperor and France, to offend neither of those powers by censuring their conduct; but on the con-

trary, to declare that, although the king was not Chapter 45.  
 unacquainted with the secret negotiation, yet so far 1735 to 1736.  
 from opposing it, he would be desirous of facilitating its successful issue, if it should be found  
 not inconsistent with the equilibrium of Europe.

The British ministers at the Imperial and French courts, were instructed to approve the basis of the agreement settled between France and the Emperor, of which they obtained certain information, and a counter project, with some few alterations for preventing the cession of Loraine to France, without a sufficient indemnity, was drawn up by lord Harrington, and forwarded to Paris and Vienna. In consequence of this con- Nov. 21.  
 duct, the Imperial and French courts at length acknowledged the secret negotiation, and the British ambassador at Vienna received from prince Eugene, a project of the preliminary articles with which the Emperor and France were contented, and to which the concurrence of the maritime powers was desired.

The answer to this project was made in the name of Great Britain and the United Provinces: it stated, that as the preliminaries did not essentially differ from the plans before delivered, nor contain any thing detrimental to the equilibrium of Europe, the king and the Republic did not hesitate to declare their approbation and readiness to concur in a future treaty for bringing them to perfection; reserving to themselves the liberty of stipulating the necessary security for their own possessions, rights, privileges, and commerce.

Period VI.

1734 to 1737,

Suspension of  
arms on the  
Rhine,

The secret negotiation had already produced very advantageous effects in Germany; it occasioned an actual, though not a stipulated armistice on the Rhine. The French and Imperial troops did not undertake any offensive operations. Prince Eugene returned to Vienna in the month of October, and soon afterwards the two armies passed into winter quarters. But the same beneficial consequences could not take place in Italy; since the fate of the war did not wholly depend, as it did in Germany, on the *fiat* of cardinal Fleury, where no suspension of arms could take place, without the consent of the king of Spain, who, eager to accelerate the possession of Mantua, would not easily be induced to agree to an armistice at the moment when he thought himself secure of success. But what could not be accomplished by persuasion or force, was finally effected by stratagem.

Opposite views  
of the allies.

One great object of the British cabinet was to prevent, or at least to protract the siege of Mantua, which was but scantily provided with ammunition and provisions. With a view to deter the French from attempting it, Horace Walpole, in a letter to the cardinal, and baron Gedda and lord Waldegrave in their conferences, represented, that although the English had declined going into the war; yet they would not see the house of Austria ruined, and that if Mantua was taken, and the Emperor was driven out of Italy, the maritime powers must come forward to his assistance. Fortunately, Mantua was the subject of contention  
between



between the allies in Italy. Philip was eager to begin the siege, conscious that the possession of that important fortress, as the key of Lombardy on the side of the Tyrol, would give to Spain the controul of Italy. Cardinal Fleury himself did not attempt to conceal his apprehensions of the consequences that would result from the capture. He said to the earl of Waldegrave,\* that the fall of that place into the hands of the Spaniards, would defeat all his schemes, and render the king and queen of Spain untractable. He even promised, and in this instance did not belie his word, to order the French general in Italy to protract the opening of the trenches, and even to place his troops in such a manner, as to permit the entrance of provisions into the town. The king of Sardinia went still farther, and in a letter to George the Second, declared that he was ready to join the maritime powers, if they would enter into the war; † expatiated on his own danger, should the possession of Mantua encourage Spain to deprive him of all the territories which had been allotted to him by his engagements with France. He pressed the king speedily to negotiate a peace between the Emperor and the allies, as the only means of preventing his falling a sacrifice to the resentment of Spain, for having delayed co-operating in the siege of Mantua. He declared that he would rather make a sacrifice of part of the

Chapter 45.  
1735 to 1736.

\* Walpole Papers. Horace Walpole to Sir Robert Walpole, October 4th, 1735. Correspondence.

† Walpole Papers. Lord Harrington to the duke of Newcastle, Hanover, August 14th, 1737.



Period VI.  
1734 to 1737.

the Milanese, that the Emperor might retain a footing in Italy, by keeping possession of Mantua, with Parma, Placentia, and Tuscany, than even obtain possession of the whole Milanese, on condition that Mantua, with the other possessions in Italy, should be ceded to Don Carlos. \*

In compliance with these views, he had positively refused to furnish a single piece of artillery, and secretly obstructed every measure which tended to facilitate the capture of that important fortress. By these manœuvres, the siege was protracted until the season was too far advanced; and Philip was thus prevented from gaining a preponderance in Italy, which would have rendered him too powerful in that quarter, and have induced him to refuse all conditions of peace which did not confirm the total exclusion of the Emperor.

England fo-  
ments the jea-  
lousy between  
France and  
Spain.

During this whole transaction, cardinal Fleury was kept in continual alarm, by repeated insinuations from Horace Walpole and the earl of Waldegrave, that the Dutch would act with vigour, provided France would not accede to honourable terms. † They also made continued representations to him, that the Emperor, if rendered desperate, would throw himself into the arms of Spain, and agree to the marriage of Don Carlos with an archduchess, which the French minister seemed to deprecate as much, or even more than the king of England. For the same purpose, the British cabinet never ceased making overtures,

both

\* The duke of Newcastle to lord Harrington, June 6, 1735. Walpole Papers.

† Horace Walpole's Apology.

both to the Emperor and Spain, in favour of the marriages; and this business was so artfully managed, that though it was conducted under the appearance of the strictest secrecy; yet it was duly communicated to the cardinal in the manner the most likely to alarm him.

Chapter 45.  
1735 to 1736.

The cardinal had no sooner agreed to a separate accommodation with the Emperor, and a secret convention with England, than the recollection of his former insincerity in his correspondence with Horace Walpole, and the influence of Chauvelin over him, induced the British cabinet to keep him steady to his engagements, by opposing art to art, and intrigue to intrigue. They availed themselves of his apprehensions of a rupture with Spain, and of his dread lest a close union should be formed between Spain and England. Mr. Keene, the English minister at Madrid, executed, with much address, the instructions of his court, on this head. From the time of the first official communications from cardinal Fleury, of the secret accommodation between France and the Emperor, and the partial suspension of arms in Italy, without the knowledge or consent of Spain, he artfully fomented the resentment which the court of Madrid entertained against France, for deserting and betraying the common cause. He encouraged the irritable and punctilious disposition of Philip the Fifth, who was piqued at being betrayed by his native country; he increased while he affected to allay the ungovernable fury of the queen, who aspired to make her son, Don Carlos,

Period VI. los, master of Italy, and who considered the disposal of Parma and Tuscany to the Emperor, as an injurious deprivation of her own inheritance.

1734 to 1737.

The court of Spain was so irritated, that Mr. Keene observed, in a letter to the duke of Newcastle,\* “There is scarce any thing that they would not do, to revenge themselves upon the French; you will easily judge of their desire to do it, when, contrary to their pride, they make such applications to the king before they know the least of his majesty’s sentiments. I wish, indeed, that matters may not have been pusht rather too far; for hitherto I found more disposition in them to sit down quietly with their mortification, if there was no remedy, than I do at present; but they now seem to be drove to despair, and to be resolved to act as people in that state.”

Even Don Patinho, the first minister, who was so mysterious, that according to cardinal Fleury, he always spoke as well as wrote † in cypher, was so highly irritated, that he proposed, in unambiguous terms, to undermine the French commerce with Spain, and particularly that with the Indies, by increasing the English trade; “and thus we shall,” as he observed to the British minister at Madrid, ‡ “revenge ourselves upon the cardinal in the most easy and effectual manner, and kill him *with a staff of cotton.*” §

The

\* Madrid, December 10th, 1735. Keene Papers.

† The Earl of Waldegrave to the duke of Newcastle, October 28th, 1733.

‡ Benjamin Keene to the duke of Newcastle, November 28th. Keene Papers.

§ Un Baton de Coton.



The British cabinet, long accustomed to the violent and changeful temper of the court of Madrid, and well knowing that the king, though alienated by temporary displeasure, was from principle and interest attached to France, amicably deprecated these counsels, and urged the good policy as well as necessity of acceding to the preliminaries.

Chapter 47.  
1735 to 1736.

The result of all these wisely combined measures, was the signature of preliminaries for a general pacification, which was concluded on such favourable terms, that even lord Bolingbroke, the implacable enemy of Sir Robert Walpole, observed; "If the English ministers had any hand in it, they were wiser than he thought them; and if not, they were much luckier than they deserved to be." \*

Signature of  
the preliminaries.

The opinion which truth extorted unwillingly from lord Bolingbroke, that the terms of the preliminaries were as just and honourable as the circumstances would permit, seems to have been the opinion of the greatest part of the nation; for the annals of England give no instance of a session in parliament which passed with so little opposition, in regard to foreign affairs, as that in the commencement of 1736. With becoming pride and satisfaction, for having settled the great outlines of a general peace, the speech from the throne expressed the pacific sentiments of the minister, that provided peace was made, it was no object of consideration by whom, or in what manner

King's speech.

January 15.

\* Lord Hervey to Horace Walpole, December 23d, January 3d, 1735. Correspondence.



Period VI. ner it was made. After mentioning the happy  
 1734 to 1737 turn which the affairs of Europe had taken, and  
 after observing, that a plan of pacification had  
 been proposed by the king, in conjunction with  
 the States, and that the Emperor and France had  
 separately concerted the preliminaries for obtain-  
 ing that end, the king said : " It appearing, upon  
 due examination, that these articles do not essen-  
 tially vary from the plan proposed by me and the  
 States, nor contain any thing prejudicial to the  
 equilibrium of Europe, or to the rights and inte-  
 rests of our respective subjects, we thought fit, in  
 pursuance of our constant purpose, to contribute  
 our utmost towards a pacification ; to declare, by  
 a joint resolution, to the courts of Vienna and  
 France, our approbation of the said preliminaries,  
 and our readiness to concur in a treaty to be made  
 for bringing them to perfection."

As an infallible symptom of peace, he noticed,  
 that a considerable reduction would be made both  
 by sea and land, and concluded with this pathet-  
 ic exhortation to moderation and harmony at  
 home : " I am willing to hope, this pleasing  
 prospect of peace abroad, will greatly contribute  
 to peace and good harmony at home. Let that  
 example of temper and moderation, which has so  
 happily calmed the spirits of contending princes,  
 banish from among you all intestine discord and  
 dissention. Those who truly wish the peace and  
 prosperity of their country, can never have a more  
 favourable opportunity than now offers, of dis-  
 tinguishing themselves, by declaring their satis-  
 faction

faction in the progress already made, towards restoring the public tranquillity, and in promoting what is still necessary to bring it to perfection. \* Chapter 46.  
1736.

On this occasion, the address was carried in the house of commons, not only without a division, but without the smallest opposition, and the session ended with scarcely a single reflection on the conduct of foreign affairs; a singular phenomenon in the political annals of this country.

#### CHAPTER THE FORTY-SIXTH.

1736.

*Parliamentary Proceedings.*—*Gin Act.*—Motion to repeal the Test Act, negatived.—Bill for the Relief of the Quakers passes the Commons, but is thrown out by the Lords.—Account of Edmund Gibson, Bishop of London.—Prorogation.—Horace Walpole declines the Office of Secretary of State.—Accompanies the King to Hanover, as Vice Secretary.—Foreign Negotiations.—Prudence of Sir Robert Walpole.—Private Correspondence with his Brother.—Objects to guaranty the Provisional Succession to Berg and Juliers.—Opposes the Northern League, and the Mediation between Russia and the Porte.—Promotes the definitive Treaty.—The Delays of the Emperor.—Ineffectual Attempt to bribe Chauvelin.—Secret Correspondence with Cardinal Fleury, and Dismissal of Chauvelin.

THE parliamentary proceedings of this session, Parliamentary Proceedings. relating to domestic affairs, were, in general, of little importance. The only subjects which it may be necessary to particularize, were The *Gin Act*; the repeal of the Test Act, and the bill for giving relief to Quakers.

The act for laying a tax on spirituous liquors, *Gin Act.*  
and

\* Chandler, vol. 9. p. 103, 104. Journals.

Period VI.  
1734 to 1737.

and licencing the retailers, was a measure in which the minister had no immediate concern, but for which he suffered much unmerited obloquy. The bill was principally promoted by Sir Joseph Jekyll, from a spirit of philanthropy, which led him to contemplate with horror the progress of vice, licentiousness, and immorality that marked the popular attachment to these inflammatory poisons. This benevolent attempt embarrassed the minister, but did not answer the desired end.

It was incumbent on the minister to prevent any diminution of the revenue of the crown, and for that purpose to supply any deficiency which might arise from the reduced consumption of spirituous liquors; but this attention to his official duty, exposed him to much intemperate abuse, and he was reproached for wishing to sacrifice the morals of the people to financial considerations. After many debates, in which he took an active share, the bill passed, and £. 70,000. per annum was granted to the king as a compensation for the diminution of the civil list, to which the duty had hitherto belonged. \*

The populace shewed their disapprobation of this act in the usual mode of riot and violence. Numerous desperados availed themselves of the popular discontents, and continued the clandestine sale of gin in defiance of every restriction. The demand of penalties, which the offenders were unable to pay, filled the prisons, and removing every restraint, plunged them into courses  
more

\* Chandler, vol. 9. p. 172.

more audaciously criminal. It was found, that a duty and penalty so severe as to amount to an implied prohibition, were as little calculated to benefit the public morality as the public revenue, and, as Walpole predicted, a subsequent administration was obliged to modify the measure.

Chapter 46.

1736.

Few subjects were more embarrassing to the minister, than the proposed repeal of the test act. Repeal of the test act.

He had for a long time acted with the dissenters; he fully appreciated the advantage which the protestant succession had derived from their exertions; he had received from them the warmest support; he knew that they had reason to expect relief from a protestant king, whom they had assisted in placing on the throne; he had even given them hopes, that the time was not far distant, when they might obtain what they so earnestly desired.

In this session, the motion for repealing the test act was prematurely brought forwards by Plummer, who supported it in a very able speech. March 2d and 12th.

Though the minister opposed the motion in the present instance, he did it with such candour and moderation, and, “expressed himself so cautiously, “with regard to the church, and so affectionately, with regard to the dissenters, that neither party had cause to complain of him. The public has been long informed of all the arguments urged for and against the motion, as almost every year produced some event that revived them, therefore they are omitted here. Negatived.

“The motion was negatived by a majority of 251  
“against 123.” \*

Although



Period V. Although the minister thus opposed the repeal  
 1734 to 1737 of the test act, he warmly patronised and sup-  
 Quakers' bill. ported a bill for the relief of the Quakers, who  
 March 2d. presented a petition to the house of commons. It stated, "that notwithstanding the several acts of parliament made, for the more easy recovery of tythes, and ecclesiastical dues, in a summary way, by warrant from justices of the peace; yet as the said people conscientiously refused the payment, they were not only liable to, but many of them had undergone grievous sufferings, by prosecution in the exchequer, ecclesiastical, and other courts, to the imprisonment of their persons, and the impoverishing and ruin of them and their families, for such small sums as were recoverable by those acts; and therefore praying, that the house would be pleased to afford them such relief, as to them should seem meet." \*

March 26. Though the minister and the majority of the house were disposed to favour the petition, and a bill was framed accordingly, yet the great interest of the established clergy, rendered it a matter of much difficulty. Counter-petitions poured in from all quarters, setting forth, "That such a law would be extremely prejudicial to themselves and brethren, excluding them from the benefit of the laws then in being, for the recovery of tythes and other dues, and thereby putting the clergy of the established church, upon a worse foot than the rest of his majesty's subjects; and praying to be heard by council against the bill." †

Notwith-

\* Candler. Journals.

† Ibid.

Notwithstanding all obstacles, the disposition of the house was very strong in favour of the quakers. Their petition was not considered a party affair; and the proceedings against many of them, had such an air of persecution, as procured them many friends amongst all parties. The bill underwent great alterations in the committee. The main intention of it was, to make the determination of two justices of the peace final, as to all payments of tythes and church dues, when the quaker, who was to pay them, did not litigate the same, which the justices were to certify under their hands and seals, without fee or reward. But in case the quaker should litigate the payment, then either party, who should dissent from the adjudication of the justices, might have recourse to the courts in Westminster hall. The payment of all church and chapel rates, if refused by quakers, were, upon the complaint of the churchwardens, to be levied by distress, by order of two justices, upon their goods, in the same manner as the poor rates are levied, and no quaker was to be sued or prosecuted for not paying any church or chapel rates, in any other manner.

Such was the main purport of this famous bill, though clogged with a great number of other clauses; when after long debates, and several divisions, it passed the house of commons, by a majority of 164 against 48.\*

Passes the  
commons;  
May 3d.

In the upper house it was successfully opposed by

Rejected by  
the lords.

\* Chandler. Journals.

Period VI. 1734 to 1737. the interest of the church and the law; a considerable number of courtiers were also non-contents. The two great lawyers, lord chancellor Talbot and lord Hardwicke, made a strong impression by observations on the incorrectness and imperfections of the bill, for the amendment of which, the short remainder of the session would not afford time. "The speakers on both sides displayed great abilities and temper, but when the question was put, for committing the bill, it passed in the negative, by a majority of 54 against 35." \*

Disatisfaction  
of the minister.

The minister was highly dissatisfied with the rejection of a bill which he was induced from various considerations to promote. He was strongly averse to all measures which bore the appearance of persecution in religious matters. His conduct was also influenced by personal considerations. A large body of quakers were established in the county of Norfolk, and particularly in the city of Norwich, who had always supported the candidates whom he favoured at the general elections, and he was anxious, from a principle of gratitude, to prove that he was not unmindful of past favours, and deserving of future assistance. These motives operated so strongly in its favour, that few circumstances ever ruffled his temper, or affected his equanimity more than the rejection of this bill. He bitterly complained of the vindictive spirit which reigned in the house of lords, and his resentment was principally excited against the bishop of London; to whom he attributed its defeat.

Resentment  
against bishop  
Gibson.

\* Tindal, vol. 29, p. 315. Lords' Debates.



defeat. That prelate had prevailed on the bench of bishops, to give their decided opposition to the bill, and had exhorted the clergy, in all quarters of the kingdom, to petition against it, as highly prejudicial to the interests of the church. In consequence of these exertions, the minister, with a spirit of acrimony very unusual to him, withdrew from the learned prelate the full confidence which he had hitherto placed in him, and transferred into other hands the conduct of ecclesiastical affairs with which he had been chiefly entrusted.

Edmund Gibson was born in 1669, \*, and educated at the free grammar school at Bampton, in Westmoreland, the place of his nativity. At the age of seventeen, he was admitted a scholar of Queen's college, Oxford, and raised himself into early notice by various publications, which proved his classical erudition, his accurate acquaintance with the Northern languages, and a correct knowledge of the Roman and Saxon antiquities, and British topography. His great talents and extensive learning, introduced him to the patronage of archbishop Tenison, who made him librarian of Lambeth, and appointed him his domestic chaplain. By the archbishop's interest, he became precentor and residentiary of Chichester, rector of Lambeth, and archdeacon of Surry. In 1713, he gave to the public that great and laborious work, intitled, "Codex Juris Ecclesiastici Anglicani, or the Statutes, Constitutions, Canons, Rubricks, and articles of the church of England, metho-

Account of  
that prelate.

\* Biographia Britannica.



Period VI.  
1734 to 1737.

methodically digested under their proper heads ; with a commentary, historical and juridical, and with an introductory discourse concerning the present state of the power, discipline, and laws of the church of England, with an appendix of instruments, antient and modern, in folio."

Being a great friend to the protestant succession, he was promoted, in 1716, to the bishopric of Lincoln, and in 1720, translated to the see of London.

In this eminent station, he enjoyed the full confidence of the king and ministry, and was principally consulted by lord Townshend and Sir Robert Walpole, in all ecclesiastical matters, particularly during the long decline of health which incapacitated archbishop Wake for transacting business. He was always zealous in supporting the establishment of the church of England, and uniformly opposed the repeal of the test act. He declined a translation to Winchester,\* and looked forwards to the primacy with such confidence of expectation, that he was called by Whiston, heir apparent to the see of Canterbury. These well-founded hopes were frustrated by the indignation of Walpole for his opposition to the quaker's bill. On the decease of Wake, the see was conferred on Potter. And when, on his death, in 1747, it was offered to Gibson, he declined it on account of his advanced age and increasing infirmities.† He died on the 6th of February 1748.

The

\* Letter from bishop Gibson to Sir Robert Walpole. Orford Papers.  
† Letter from bishop Gibson to the king, communicated by the bishop of Salisbury (Dr. Douglas.)

The inveteracy displayed against this eminent prelate for the conscientious discharge of his duty, reflects no credit on the memory of Sir Robert Walpole. His esteem for the bishop of London had been so great, that when he was reproached with giving him the authority of a pope, he replied, "And a very good pope he is."\* Even after their disagreement, he never failed to pay an eulogium to the learning and integrity of his former friend.

On the 20th of May, the king put an end to this late session of parliament, by a speech, in which he acquainted both houses, "that since the preliminary articles had been concluded between the Emperor and his most Christian majesty, a further convention, concerning the execution of them, had been made and communicated by both those courts, and that negotiations were carrying on by the several powers engaged in the late war, in order to settle the general pacification." He expressed himself with great concern in relation to the seeds of dissension that had been sown amongst his people, exhorting his parliament to cultivate unanimity, and promising impartial protection to all his subjects. He then acquainted them, that being obliged that summer to visit his German dominions, he hoped that they would make the administration of the queen, whom he had resolved to appoint regent during his absence, as easy to her,

\* Etough's Minutes of Conversations with Sir Robert Walpole.

Period VI. her, as her wife conduct would render her government agreeable to them. \*

1734 to 1737.

Horace Walpole declines the office of secretary of state.

At this period, Sir Robert Walpole and his brother gave a memorable proof of their prudence and moderation. The king being dissatisfied with lord Harrington, proposed to dismiss him from the office of secretary of state, and queen Caroline offered the place to Horace Walpole; but conscious that the elevation of two brothers to the principal posts of government, would augment the jealousy and popular outcry which already prevailed, and fearful lest so important a change should increase the divisions among the ministers, he declined the offer. The king, however, would not admit lord Harrington's attendance at Hanover, and though he acquiesced in the refusal of Horace Walpole, yet he insisted on his undertaking the employment of secretary of state during his residence abroad; an order which Horace Walpole, though he attempted to elude, could not venture to disobey, and accordingly accompanied the king to Hanover. †

Accompanies the king to Hanover.

Confidential correspondence.

As the king was extremely jealous of being governed, and yet as his ignorance of the English constitution, and his natural attachment to German measures, rendered it expedient that he should be advised by those who were responsible for the administration of affairs, it became necessary to convey this advice in so delicate a manner, that he should appear to guide the reins, which were

\* Tindal, vol. 20. p. 325. Journals. Chandler.

† Horace Walpole's Apology.



were conducted by another hand. With this view, a confidential correspondence was carried on between the two brothers; and as the king always expected to see any private letters which passed between them, an arrangement was made, that ostensible letters should be sent for the perusal of the king, and confidential ones to Horace Walpole alone. A part of this correspondence is still preserved; those letters of Sir Robert Walpole which relate to foreign affairs, prove, as usual, his extreme caution in avoiding, as much as possible, any continental embarrassments, which were not immediately necessary to the preservation of external peace and internal tranquillity.

Chapter 46.

1736.

The letters on domestic occurrences, are chiefly concerning the murder of captain Porteus; tumults in Spitalfields, on employing Irish manufacturers, and the riots on account of the gin act. They display his good sense and prudence, in endeavouring to prevent rather than punish disturbances, and yet indicate no deficiency of vigour, when it was requisite to act with spirit. \*

Besides the difficult task of settling the disputes between the Emperor and the allies, which encountered continual obstructions from the discordant views of the contending powers, three foreign objects of great importance principally occupied the attention of the king at Hanover, and gave sufficient employment to the sagacity of Walpole: The regulation of the succession of Berg and Juliers: the project of a league with the northern powers;

Foreign affairs.

\* See Correspondence.



Period VI. powers; and the mediation between Russia and  
 1734 to 1737. the Porte.

Berg and Juliers.

1666.

John William, duke of Cleves, Juliers, and Berg, dying in 1609 without issue, his dominions were claimed by the houses of Saxony, Brandenburg, and palatine Newburgh. After a long contest, the disputed succession was regulated by a family compact, and divided between the great elector Frederick William, who was descended from the eldest sister of John William, and Philip William, duke of Newburgh, afterwards elector palatine, who was descended from the second sister. Frederick William obtained Cleves, La Marck, and Ravenstein; Philip William, Juliers and Berg. By the family compact, it was stipulated, that should the male issue of either branch become extinct, the other should inherit the whole succession.

As at this period Charles, son of Philip William, having no issue, and being advanced in years, the succession of Berg and Juliers was claimed by Frederick William, king of Prussia, grandson of the great elector. But his claims were opposed by Charles Frederick, prince palatine of Sultzbach, of the collateral line of the house of palatine Newburgh, as being lineally descended from the third sister of the last duke of Cleves. He accordingly remonstrated against the family compact; and was supported in his pretensions by the elector palatine, to whom he was presumptive heir. This succession had long been a favourite object of Frederick William: He was

prepared to assert his pretensions with his whole force, on the death of the elector palatine, and was secure of wresting these duchies from the house of Sultzbach, had not the latter been openly supported or secretly abetted by other powers.

It became an object of common prudence and policy, to obviate the difficulties which were likely to arise on the death of the elector palatine, and to regulate, if possible, the provisional succession to the disputed provinces, in such a manner as to prevent the disturbance of the public peace. But the discordant views and complicated interests of the powers who were capable of interfering with effect, gave little hopes of a successful and stable arrangement.

France had given her guaranty to the house of Sultzbach, but she had given it at a time when she was interested to secure the palatine family, and as that motive no longer operated with the same force, it was probable that she would act in conformity to the situation of affairs at the time of the vacancy.

The Emperor, with his usual duplicity, had secretly guaranteed the provisional succession to both the contending parties; but although he had lured Frederick William with the most solemn professions to support his pretensions, yet he was known to be secretly inclined to favour the house of Sultzbach. In all events, however, he was unwilling to offend either Prussia or the palatine family, and was no less anxious than France to avoid

Period VI. avoid a public declaration of his future resolutions.  
 1734 to 1737.

The Dutch, whose territories bordered on Berg and Juliers, were more than any other power interested to prevent disturbances on the death of the elector palatine, and extremely anxious to propose such an accommodation as should remove the apprehensions of a war. They therefore applied to the Emperor and France, and desired the king of England's concurrence to propose instant and proper measures for obviating the troubles by an accommodation between the contending parties, and preventing all hostile aggressions while that accommodation was negotiating.

George the Second, highly disgusted with the king of Prussia, was averse to support any measures which might tend to his aggrandisement, and would not easily be prevailed on to guaranty his succession to Juliers and Berg, unless some advantage was stipulated for himself. For this reason, the Dutch had proposed that East Friesland, to which both he and the king of Prussia had pretensions, should, on the death of the reigning sovereign without issue, revert to George the Second as elector of Hanover, the right of maintaining a garrison in Embden being reserved to the Dutch. They farther recommended, that in consideration of renouncing all claim on East Friesland, such a portion of Juliers and Berg, as might be adjudged to the king of Prussia, should be secured under the guaranty of England.

The



The king seemed inclined to consent to these stipulations; but the minister, strongly averse to complicated and distant guaranties, expressed his objections to all interference; declared himself against prematurely agreeing to guaranty the succession of Berg and Juliers, in which they might be left singly with the Dutch, or making any declaration which might disoblige either Prussia or the palatine family. He stated the great inconveniencies which might arise from blending that affair with the general transactions then in agitation, when the Emperor and France had agreed to postpone the consideration of it, till the chief business of the present negociation should be concluded. His opinion prevailed, and all thoughts of interference were relinquished. \*

The northern league was the object which most embarrassed the minister, and reduced him to the necessity of opposing the king's inclinations. Rosencrantz, the Danish minister at Hanover, with a view to benefit his own country, and Mr. Finch, the British envoy at Stockholm, from a desire of favouring the court at which he was employed, had represented to the king the good policy of forming a league between the maritime powers, and Sweden and Denmark. The king, who understood the interests of Hanover better than those of England, and who could not sufficiently appreciate the great commercial and naval principles by which the minister was actuated in forming

Project for a  
northern  
league.

\* Sir Robert Walpole to Horace Walpole, June  $\frac{18}{20}$ , 1736. Correspondence. Thoughts on the Succession of Berg, Juliers, and East Friesland, by Horace Walpole. Walpole Papers.—History of the Succession to the Duchies of Juliers and Berg.



Period VI.  
1734 to 1737.

ing alliances and giving guaranties, eagerly embraced, and zealously supported the scheme; and with a view to keep the king of Prussia in awe, proposed \* the accession of Russia. He communicated his wishes to the queen, and requested the opinion of Sir Robert Walpole in such a manner, as sufficiently proved to which side he inclined. The minister disapproved the measure, and considered it not only as highly inexpedient, but as absolutely impracticable. He was convinced that such an alliance with Sweden would offend the Czarina, unless she was invited to accede, and that her accession could not be obtained but by guarantying the possession of Livonia and Ingria, which would no less offend Sweden. In his ostensible letter to his brother, Walpole frankly stated his objections to precipitate resolutions, recommended cautious proceedings, and particular attention not to offend the Emperor and Russia, and reprobated expensive and burthensome guaranties.

Counteracted  
by Walpole.  
August 15.

As the negociation became more and more complicated, and the king seemed inclined to persevere in his opinion, Walpole prudentially insinuated, that a matter of such extreme delicacy and importance, should be transacted by an official correspondence, rather than by private letters between the king and queen. The king having approved this proposal, Horace Walpole was ordered to prepare the project, and received hints from his brother in what manner it should be drawn.

Being

\* Horace Walpole to Sir Robert Walpole, August 5. Correspondence.

Being submitted to the king, he highly approved it, and was eager for the conclusion. It was then transmitted to Sir Robert Walpole for the consideration of the queen and the lords justices, and was accompanied by a paper of private observations against the treaty. The minister found this paper so convincing, that although intended for his own use, he communicated it to the queen. Convinced by the soundness of the arguments, she promised to conceal any knowledge of this paper from the king, and to write her sentiments in conformity to that opinion. At the same time, Sir Robert Walpole wrote an ostensible letter to his brother, informing him that he should decline laying the project before the cabinet council, lest the sudden disclosure of so important a transaction, might create surprise and alarm, and proposed to delay the communication until the negotiation was farther advanced, the inclination of the northern courts founded, and the situation of affairs more settled, "that we may see" he adds "who and who are together, before we form new schemes, that may clash with we know not whom nor how." These prudent measures were attended with the desired effect, and the king finally consented to abandon his favourite project\*.

This whole transaction reflects equal honour on the minister and the king: On the minister, for frankly delivering his sentiments, and persevering in them, though opposite to those of his sovereign;

\* Correspondence.

Period VI.

1734 to 1737.

reign ; on the king, for yielding to the arguments and wishes of his faithful counsellor. Those who consider the impatience of contradiction, and pertinacity of opinion, which marked the character of George the Second, will highly appreciate the merit of his submitting to the guidance, and conforming to the advice, which so strongly contradicted his own wishes.

War between  
Russia and the  
Porte.

In the midst of these transactions, hostilities broke out between the Russians and Turks, which, in consequence of the alliances of France and Sweden with the Turks, and of the Emperor with Russia, appeared likely to excite a general war ; yet, contrary to these expectations, this event contributed more than any other cause to accelerate the pacification in Europe. The Emperor, divided between the fear of irritating the Czarina on one hand, and of retarding the peace on the other, and tempted with the hope of sharing the spoils of the Turks, became less averse to the aggrandisement of the house of Bourbon.

Walpole declines mediating.

A mediation between the contending powers had been proposed by Calkoen, the Dutch minister at Constantinople, and too eagerly adopted by the English ambassador, Sir Everard Fawkener. Walpole was apprehensive lest the Czarina should construe a premature officiousness into a partiality for the Porte, and consider it as an attempt to stop the career of that success with which her arms were crowned.

He was alarmed, lest the dignity of England should be lowered by offering the mediation be-



fore it was desired, without a certainty of its being accepted. He was convinced, that any attempt to reconcile Russia and the Porte, would be fruitless and ineffectual; and he observed, in a letter to Horace Walpole, "For my part, I think you may as well hope to break in upon the constancy of two lovers in the honeymoon, as to stop the career of two powers just engaged in war, in the heat of their resentment, and before they have had time to feel, to reflect, and grow cool." \* His advice prevailed also in this instance, and the mediation was declined.

The signature of the preliminaries between France and the Emperor, did not, however, produce an immediate pacification. Several months elapsed before the kings of Sardinia and Spain could be prevailed on to accede, and when their concurrence was reluctantly obtained, disputes occasionally revived between France and the Emperor, and a long series of negotiation took place before the final ratification.

Difficulties in  
reconciling the  
Emperor and  
the allies.

Nor are these delays to be attributed solely to the allies. The Emperor, though a prince of high spirit, and by no means deficient in capacity, was of such a changeful and capricious temper, and appeared so different at different intervals, that to define his real character and situation, confounded the wisdom of the wisest, and baffled the conjectures of the most enlightened.

Capricious disposition of the  
Emperor.

At one time he was so exasperated with England, that he threatened to separate himself from her

\* Sir Robert Walpole to Horace Walpole, August  $\frac{20}{31}$ , 1736. Correspondence.



Period VI. her for ever, and was so devoted to France, as  
 1734 to 1737. to induce Mr. Robinson to observe, in a letter to  
 lord Harrington, "This court is too much in the  
 hands of that of Versailles, not to do every thing  
 that the other wills, or to do any thing that  
 the other wills not." At another time he courted  
 England with the greatest eagerness; denounced  
 the house of Bourbon as his irreconcilable enemy,  
 and offended cardinal Fleury by the most arrogant  
 and presumptuous demeanour. With a prince of  
 such a changeful temper, it was no easy task to  
 negotiate. His ministers were no less intractable;  
 and Vienna exhibited a motley scene of pride,  
 humility, cabal, intrigue, and procrastination.

Dissatisfaction  
 of the duke of  
 Loraine.

Another great difficulty arose from Francis  
 duke of Loraine, who had espoused the eldest arch-  
 duchess, Maria Theresa, and was unwilling to  
 renounce his family inheritance. He required,  
 that if Loraine was ceded to France before the  
 death of the grand duke of Tuscany, an adequate  
 compensation should be secured to him. Mr.  
 Robinson, in one of his dispatches, gives a pa-  
 thetic and interesting account of his extreme dis-  
 tress and agitation on this occasion. \* "In an  
 audience which I demanded of him, to announce  
 the marriage of the prince of Wales with the  
 princess of Saxe Gotha, he interrupted me in the  
 midst of his compliments, to pour out his joy at  
 the marriage, and his respect and veneration for  
 the king, which he first expressed aloud. But  
 left

\* Mr. Robinson to lord Harrington, May 30th, 1736. Walpole Papers.

left any of his attendants in the next room might overhear, he retreated with me to a window at the farther end of the apartment, and said with the greatest emotion, "Good God, where are you, where are the maritime powers! As for my part," he continued, "I rely upon the king singly, not upon treaties, not upon formal promises, but upon what his majesty has told me over and over again of his goodness for me by word of mouth." If his words expressed the highest agony and distress, his gestures and actions expressed no less: "He threw himself, in a reclining posture, and in an inconsolable manner, upon the arms and end of an adjoining table and chair." "Such also," adds Mr. Robinson, "is the extreme agitation of his mind, that his health is affected by it; he owns that he has no friend to look up to, and that next to God and the Emperor, all his fortune depends on the king of England."

Perhaps these complicated disputes would never have been settled without another war, had not the pacific spirit of Walpole and Fleury interposed, and had not the Emperor, eager to make war against the Turks, with a view to indemnify himself on the side of Bosnia, for the loss of Naples and Sicily, found it previously necessary to secure the peace of Italy, that he might draw his troops into Hungary.

Views and conduct of the Emperor.

The French, aware of his inclination, refused, under various pretences, to evacuate the Milanese; the Emperor was induced to make repeated

Period VI.  
1734 to 1737.

concessions, and finally to yield the immediate possession of Loraine, for the eventual succession of Tuscany. He was so eager to conclude the definitive treaty, that he paid 600,000 florins more than he had stipulated. He gave to the king of Sardinia, estates among the Langhes, as fiefs of the empire, which never belonged to the empire, and suffered that monarch to mark the limits of his dominions according to his own convenience.\*

Ineffectual attempts to bribe Chauvelin.

In the course of these various negotiations, Walpole had used every effort to conciliate discordant parties, and to effect a general accommodation. He well knew that the great obstacles to a general peace, proceeded from the intrigues of Chauvelin, who, from the time of his appointment to the office of secretary of state, and keeper of the seals, almost invariably used the ascendancy which he had gained over cardinal Fleury, in counteracting the designs of England. To obtain his co-operation, Walpole directed his principal attention, and even adopted the chimerical project of bribing him to compliance. The prospect of success was principally founded on the extravagance of Chauvelin. He lived in a stile of great profusion. He had laid out, and continued to expend large sums in beautifying his favourite villa of Gros Bois, which vied in magnificence with the royal palaces.

With whom or in what manner the scheme originated, the papers under my inspection do not

\* Thomas Robinson to lord Harrington, August 5. Grantham

not supply specific information. Sir Robert Walpole was too cautious to make such attempt, had not some favourable circumstances occurred. It is not improbable that a hint imparted by Trevor, and insinuated in a letter from Horace Walpole to queen Caroline, might have suggested the first \* idea. It was an experiment which the minister deemed it imprudent to reject, though he never entertained sanguine hopes of success. Perhaps the first opening was afforded by Chauvelin himself, who, to support his own declining interest, was desirous of securing the assistance of Sir Robert Walpole; with whom Fleury was anxious to co-operate in establishing the peace of Europe. But he had no sooner effected a temporary re-establishment of his credit, than he discontinued this private correspondence, rejected all pecuniary gratifications, refused to give any farther information, and became, as before, the inveterate enemy to England.

The commencement, progress, and termination of this intrigue, are detailed in the private correspondence which passed between Sir Robert Walpole and the earl of Waldegrave, and was communicated only to the king. In the succeeding year; Chauvelin made another attempt to renew his secret offers, in such a manner as induced the earl of Waldegrave to conclude, that he would accept a bribe. Walpole wrote to the English ambassador, to avoid being again deceived;

\* Horace Walpole to queen Caroline, August  $\frac{1}{12}$ , 1735. Correspondence.



Period VI. to offer a large bribe, of not less than £. 5 or  
 1734 - 1737. 10,000, and if that was not accepted, to obtain the  
 removal of one whom he calls our quondam friend,  
 but now our greatest enemy. \*

Fleury pro-  
 poses an alli-  
 ance with Eng-  
 land.

While this intrigue was in agitation, cardinal Fleury, in a confidential conversation with the earl of Waldegrave, made heavy complaints against the conduct of the British ministers abroad, and proposed, through the channel of Horace Walpole alone, an alliance with England, † to check the ambitious designs of the Emperor, and keep in awe the restless spirit of the queen of Spain, who had so often convulsed Europe to aggrandise her own family. The answer of Horace Walpole began with a spirited remonstrance against the weakness of the cardinal, in listening to all the idle and malicious reports of those who endeavoured to sow dissensions between the two crowns; stated the impossibility of acceding to the proposal of a particular union with France in the present juncture, because Chauvelin would obstruct and disappoint all hopes of bringing it to a successful issue. He concluded with representing, that the king had always had in view the preservation of the tranquillity and equilibrium of Europe; that the numerous treaties which France had made before the late troubles, and the complicated negotiations for the execution of the preliminaries, in which the king had not participated, rendered it impossible to de-  
 termine

\* Sir Robert Walpole to the earl of Waldegrave, September 26, 1726. Correspondence.

† Horace Walpole to the earl of Waldegrave, August 8-19th, 1735. Correspondence.

termine what measures or alliances would be most proper for preserving the balance of power, until the whole plan of the league should be proposed; that if the plan should appear conformable to that great end, the king would support it by every means in his power; and concluded with representing, that the cardinal would always find the king disposed to preserve a good understanding with France.

Foiled in this attempt, the cardinal endeavoured to succeed by opening a private correspondence with Sir Robert Walpole, the knowledge of whose pacific sentiments, inspired him with the confidence and hopes of imposing upon him, and drawing him in gradually to abet the alliance with France, and by that means to separate the Emperor still more from England. Two conversations which the cardinal held with the earl of Waldegrave on this subject, will serve to shew the art with which he endeavoured to amuse the British cabinet. \*

After delivering his sentiments on the murder of captain Porteous, and recommending lenity to the misled populace who were concerned in that transaction, he represented the necessity of curbing the overgrown power of the Emperor; hinted as his opinion, to be solely communicated to Sir Robert Walpole, that the best method of effecting that end, would be a league of the protestant princes

\* The earl of Waldegrave's letters to Sir Robert Walpole, October 23d, and November 21st, 1736. Correspondence.

Period VI.  
1734 to 1737.

princes in Europe, to be proposed by England, and supported by France. In reply to these friendly communications, the minister commissioned lord Waldegrave to express great respect for the cardinal, and an earnest desire to cultivate his friendship, for the mutual honour and interest of the two kingdoms. At this, the cardinal interrupting him, expressed the highest opinion of Sir Robert Walpole's distinguished abilities, and particularly expatiated on his integrity and spirit, characteristics highly necessary in the composition of a great minister. He then proposed a secret correspondence, through the channel of the earl of Waldegrave, to which, in France, no one should be privy but the king, and in England, only the king and queen; trusting, on his part, that no advantage would be taken, and no hints given of this intercourse.

Although Sir Robert Walpole was not ignorant, that during these overtures, the cardinal had been endeavouring to persuade the Emperor to conclude a definitive treaty, exclusive of the maritime powers, he neither reproached him for his insincerity, nor declined the offer of a confidential communication. He on the contrary affected to disbelieve, while he hinted the report, because, he said, it contradicted the declarations so frequently and solemnly made by the cardinal, that the maritime powers should be included in all the definitive transactions for a treaty, as also, because he did not doubt his sincerity in desiring a particular alliance with England. Uniformly attached to his  
grand



grand principle of promoting peace by whomsoever, or in whatever manner it was effected, he expressed his readiness to concur in all measures which might be just and honourable to the two nations, and requested him to draw up the heads of a definitive treaty.

Although the earl of Waldegrave justly remarked, from his knowledge of the cardinal's character, that much could not be concluded from these private transactions, they served, however, to preserve harmony, and to soften the immediate effects of that inveterate jealousy which had so long divided the two nations. The mutual interchange of friendly discussion strengthened the pacific sentiments adopted by both ministers, and prevented the hasty renewal of offensive measures. The outlines of the definitive treaty were settled, and the conclusion of the general pacification accelerated.

Effect of the  
Correspondence.

Another considerable advantage was also unquestionably derived from this private transaction. It gave to Sir Robert Walpole and the earl of Waldegrave, opportunities of representing the malicious conduct of Chauvelin, and occasioned, or hastened his downfall, which took place in the commencement of the ensuing year, and to which the representations of Waldegrave greatly contributed.

Disgrace of  
Chauvelin.

Before the dismissal of Chauvelin, an interesting correspondence had passed between the two brothers and the other ministers, relating to a curious incident that happened to the earl of

The Pretender's letters.



Period VI. 1734 to 1737. Waldegrave at Paris. Chauvelin having, among other papers, by mistake, put into his hands a letter from the Pretender, the ambassador sent it by a courier to the queen. Immediate information was forwarded by Newcastle to the king at Hanover, with the remarks of Sir Robert Walpole. Several letters passed between the minister in London, Horace Walpole at Hanover, and the earl of Waldegrave at Paris, which prove the extreme uneasiness and jealousy excited by this discovery.

Jacobitism at that time produced a tremor through every nerve of government; and the slightest incident which discovered any intercourse between the Pretender and France, occasioned the most serious apprehensions. It was no wonder, therefore, that this event should spread alarms, which the observations of the two brothers were calculated to obviate. The letters which passed on this occasion, are given in order of date, and are sufficiently explicit without any farther illustrations. \*

Riots in London.

During the absence of the king at Hanover, where he remained till the beginning of January, the spirit of discontent and insurrection was busy at home; and various tumults took place in the capital, and other parts of the kingdom. In the capital, these disturbances were occasioned by the weavers in Spitalfields, who took umbrage that the Irish were employed at an inferior rate of wages; and by the discontent of the populace, excited by the execution of the gin act.

These

\* Correspondence. Period VI. Article, the Pretender's Letter.

These alarming riots, which were notoriously fomented by the disaffected, were scarcely suppressed, when a more atrocious outrage demanded the attention of government. One Wilson, a daring smuggler, was sentenced to be hanged at Edinburgh, for having robbed a collector of the revenue. This man, having abetted the escape of a fellow criminal, in the time of divine service, and from the midst of his guards, the magistrates of Edinburgh increased their usual precautions for the execution of the sentence, by ordering the officers of the train bands and the city guard, provided with arms and ammunition, to attend for the purpose of preventing his rescue. The procession passed along; the sentence was performed without the smallest appearance of riot, and the executioner was at the top of the ladder cutting down the body, when the magistrates retired. At this moment, the populace rushed forward towards the gallows, part forced their way through the guards, with intention, as was supposed, to carry off the body, under the hopes of recovering it. Others threw large stones, maimed several soldiers, and struck captain Porteous, who was so provoked at this outrage, that he ordered the soldiers to fire. Five were killed, and several wounded. Porteous was immediately apprehended, and tried, for having directed the soldiers to fire without the orders of the civil magistrate, and was condemned to death. But so many favourable circumstances appeared on his trial, that seven of the fifteen jurymen acquitted him, and the ver-

dict

Period VI.  
1734 to 1737.

dict which condemned him, acknowledged that  
 “ he and his guards were attacked and beat with  
 “ several stones of a considerable bigness, thrown  
 “ by the multitude, whereby several of the sol-  
 “ diers were bruised and wounded.” \* In con-  
 sequence of this ridiculous inconsistency in the  
 verdict, and other favourable circumstances, the  
 queen regent sent down a respite of six weeks,  
 for the purpose of inquiring into the circumstances  
 of the case.

On the 3d, the reprieve was brought to Edin-  
 burgh, and on the 4th, vague reports were cir-  
 culated, that the populace had resolved, on the  
 evening of the 8th, to set fire to the prison, if  
 Porteous was not executed on that day, according  
 to his sentence. But the magistrates, on inquiry,  
 could not discover any foundation for the report,  
 and no precaution was taken to remove the pri-  
 soner into the castle. On Tuesday the 7th, about  
 a quarter before ten at night, the magistrates had  
 notice, that a few boys had seized the drum in  
 the suburb of West Port, and beat it in the Grass  
 Market within the city. About six minutes be-  
 fore ten, they sent to call out the guard imme-  
 diately under arms; but a few minutes before the  
 clock struck, a mob suddenly rushed in upon,  
 and surprised the guards, drove them from the  
 guard room, seized all their arms, being ninety  
 firelocks in number, besides several Lochaber axes,  
 and almost at the same time made themselves  
 masters

\* Trial and Sentence. Political State, 1736; and Gentleman's  
 Magaz<sup>n</sup>.



masters of the city gates. They then provided themselves with shot, by breaking open the shops, where ammunition was sold, attacked the jail, drove out the provosts and magistrates, who attempted to disperse them, and wounded several of their attendants. They next set fire to the gate of the prison, and rushed into the wards, forced the turnkeys to open the doors, released all the prisoners, seized Porteous, and dragged him to the Grass Market, where they broke into a shop, took out a coil of ropes, and hung him upon a dyer's cross post, close to the common place of execution. \* Lindsay, member for the city, found means to escape from the town, and to convey information of the tumult to general Moyle, commander of the king's troops, who were quartered in the suburbs; but as he was obliged to make a large circuit, he did not reach the head quarters till near eleven. General Moyle had already collected his own troops, and sent for those who were quartered at Leith, but made no attempt to force the gate of the city, which was occupied by the armed populace. He persisted in refusing to act against the insurgents, on the faith of Lindsay's intelligence, without an order from the civil magistrate; and as he deemed it impossible to obtain an order from the magistrates in the city, he dispatched a messenger to Andrew Fletcher, lord justice clerk of Scotland, who was at his villa at the distance of above two miles and a half. Fletcher being in bed, no answer was procured until

Murder of  
Porteous.

\* Narrative of the Tumult. Correspondence.



Period VI.  
1734 to 1737.

until one o'clock, and by some mistake, it was then delivered not to the general, but to Lindsay. Meanwhile the execution of Porteous had taken place, the exertions of the military were rendered unnecessary, by the dispersion of the rioters, and in the morning, Edinburgh was in a state of perfect tranquillity.

Lord Ilay was sent to Edinburgh, as the only person capable of bringing the offenders to justice. The accounts \* which he transmitted to Sir Robert Walpole, proved that a regular systematic plan had been formed with the utmost secrecy and order; that several made this infamous murder a point of conscience; and that one of the actors went to a country church, where the sacrament was given to a large number of people in the church-yard, and boasted of the share which he had taken in the transaction. He observed, that persons who affected sanctity, spoke of the murder as the hand of God doing justice, and reprobated all endeavours to bring the actors to condign punishment, as grievous persecution. He added also, that although several persons had been imprisoned, and large rewards offered, no discoveries had been made of the perpetrators or instigators of this atrocious act.

\* Correspondence.

## CHAPTER THE FORTY-SEVENTH:

1737.

*Meeting of Parliament.—Speech from the Throne.—Proceedings:—On the Bill respecting the Tumults at Edinburgh.—On Sir John Barnard's Scheme for the Reduction of Interest.—Licentiousness of the Stage.—Origin and Progress of the Playhouse Bill.*

THIS session of parliament, which opened on the 1st of February, was as unquiet and stormy, as the last had been easy and tranquil. Meeting of parliament.

The parliamentary proceedings which it is necessary to notice, are the debates respecting the tumults in Edinburgh; Sir John Barnard's proposal for the reduction of interest; the playhouse bill, and the motion for an address to the king, to settle £.100,000 per annum on the prince of Wales. Parliamentary proceedings.

The speech from the throne noticed the late disturbances, but without any specific mention of the tumult at Edinburgh. It was answered by loyal addresses from both houses, expressing their abhorrence of such outrages, and their resolution to support the royal authority in suppressing all riotous and seditious attempts, which threatened the very being of the constitution. The minister, however, seems to have been embarrassed in what manner to introduce the inquiry. Fortunately, lord Carteret relieved him from this dilemma. Although he was in violent opposition to the measures of administration, yet he justly thought On the murder of Porteous.  
In the house of lords.

Period VI.  
1734 to 1737.

thought that the indignity committed against the established government, should not remain unpunished. He accordingly referred to that part of the speech which alluded to the tumults in various parts of the kingdom. After arguing that these riots did not proceed from disaffection to government, and complaining, that notwithstanding the power with which the civil magistrate was armed, the military force had been employed in suppressing them; he adverted to the murder of captain Porteous, which he particularly stigmatised as a most atrocious deed; observing that the conspiracy which had effected it was the more dreadful, because it was concerted and executed with great deliberation and method, and was attended with no other disorder. He was of opinion, that some citizens of Edinburgh had been concerned in the murder; that the magistrates had encouraged the riot, and that the city had forfeited its charter; he concluded with expressing hopes that an inquiry would be made into the particulars and circumstances of the case.

The duke of Newcastle and the lord chancellor, after contending for the necessity of employing the military force in suppressing riots and putting the laws in execution, and justifying the reprieve of captain Porteous, did not resist or promote the investigation proposed by lord Carteret; they only argued for a general inquiry into the causes and circumstances of the riot, and not for a specific inquiry into the disturbances. Carteret, in reply, maintained the necessity of a particular inquiry, and

and of confining it to the tumult at Edinburgh. The earl of Ilay, after opposing the forfeiture of the charter, and observing that the outrages had originated from disaffection to government, declared himself in favour of a particular inquiry, and expressed his readiness to join in any proposition for that purpose. A motion was accordingly made by Carteret, for the attendance of the magistrates, and other persons who could give the necessary information, and for an address to the king, that copies of the trial of captain Porteous, and the account of the murder, should be laid before the house.

In consequence of this motion, which passed without opposition, the respective documents were produced. In examining the proceedings of the trial, it plainly appeared that Porteous was fully justified, from the principles of self-defence, in firing upon the mob, and that the reprieve granted by the queen was founded on law and justice; and as the constitution of the criminal law in Scotland was different from that in England, it appeared incomprehensible to most of the peers, that a person could be condemned to death, upon a verdict so inconsistent with common justice. Accordingly, it was suggested by Carteret, to declare the verdict erroneous; this proposal was opposed by the earl of Ilay and the lord chancellor, and no motion was made. \*

Having thus justified the proceedings of government, the next object was to discover those  
who

\* Lords' Debate.



Period VI. 1734 to 1737. who were concerned in the murder, and to punish all who either concerted or connived at it. The magistrates of Edinburgh, the commander in chief of the forces, Lindlay, member for the city, as well as the Scots judges, were severally and separately examined at the bar. Their allegations, however, were confused and unsatisfactory; but proofs appeared that the magistrates had not been sufficiently active in preventing the rising of the mob, or in suppressing it when excited. Yet no legal evidence was obtained to convict them, nor did it appear that any of the citizens had been accessary to the murder, and not a single person was discovered who had been concerned in it. Notwithstanding this deficiency, the majority of the peers thought it necessary to bring in a bill of pains and penalties against the provost and city, for conniving at, or not preventing the perpetration of so atrocious a deed.

The bill was opposed in a very animated speech by the duke of Argyle, who contended that it was an ex post facto law, punishing a whole community for crimes within the reach of the inferior courts of justice. It was nevertheless carried by a majority of 54 against 22, and sent down to the commons, under the title of "An Act to disable Alexander Wilson, esquire, from taking, holding, or enjoying, any office or place of magistracy, in the city of Edinburgh, or elsewhere, in Great Britain, for imprisoning the said Alexander Wilson, and for abolishing the guard kept up in the said city, commonly called the town guard; and

May 11. M for

for taking away the gates of the Nether Bow Port of the said city, and keeping open the same.” Chapter 47.  
1737.

Such was the title, and such were the penalties of this famous bill, as it was sent to the commons. It is certain, the ministerial party in the house of peers, had not thoroughly considered the nature of the Scottish constitution, as left by the act of union; nor was the evidence sufficient for justifying the severities contained in the bill. Wilson, the lord provost, was a weak well-meaning man, and had acted to the best of his courage and capacity; and the greatest imputation fixed on him by evidence, was his not having been active in arming the citizens the day before the riot had happened, when only vague rumours were whispered. With respect to the penalties inflicted upon the city of Edinburgh, doubts were raised whether they could regularly be imposed, even by a British parliament, consistently with the articles of union. \*

Accordingly, the opposition was violent and strenuous; most of the persons who had appeared at the house of lords, were again examined before the commons; petitions were received, and counsel heard against the bill. The Scottish members who were affected by the stigma to be affixed on their capital, and looked upon the question as a national concern, uniformly opposed, and many of them, particularly Duncan Forbes, the lord advocate of Scotland, displayed great abilities.

On

\* Tindal.

Period VI. 1734 to 1737. On every reading it produced fresh debates, and in one instance, was carried only by the casting voice of colonel Bladen, the chairman of the committee.

Walpole spoke only on the first reading, and then he said but a few words in reply to those who objected to the bill, because it originated in the house of lords. He observed, that he was as jealous of their right as any other gentleman could be, but thought too scrupulous a jealousy at this time might be attended with the worst consequences. In reply to an observation of Duncan Forbes, that tenderness ought to be shewn to the corporations and boroughs which the commons represented, especially those of Scotland, he urged that the commitment of the bill was the greatest mark of tenderness which could be shewn. It was to punish, in an exemplary manner, a practice that had been too much encouraged; a practice, which if not suppressed, must destroy the right of all corporations, and perhaps abolish the privileges of the house, and the very form of the constitution. He concluded, by saying, that gentlemen would not oppose the bill without better reasons than any that had yet appeared. He did not enter into the merits, or discuss the proofs of the objections urged by the Scottish lawyers, but left those points to be argued by the attorney and solicitor general. He by no means made it a ministerial question. In the house of lords, some of his friends had promoted and others resisted it, and on one question, the duke of Newcastle and lord chancellor



Chancellor Hardwicke had voted on different sides. The same circumstance occurred in the house of commons. Some of the most violent opposers of government befriended the bill, and others absented themselves while it was depending. He was most anxious that the queen should be justified for granting the reprieve, and that some punishment should be inflicted on the magistrates, as an example to deter others, and to render the civil power responsible for outrages committed in their jurisdiction: a salutary and essential act of policy.

When these points were gained, he was not inclined to enforce the penalties. He suffered therefore the bill to be modified and mitigated. That part which ordered the abolition of the city guard, and the demolition of the gates, was omitted, and in the whole was reduced to an act "for disabling Alexander Wilton, the provost, from taking, holding, or enjoying, any office, or place of magistracy, in the city of Edinburgh, or elsewhere, in Great Britain, and for imposing a fine upon the said corporation, of £. 2,000, for the benefit of the widow of Porteous." \* The bill, however, thus mitigated and rendered "stingless †," met with unceasing opposition, and after having narrowly escaped being thrown out, was sent back to the lords, who agreed to the amendments, and it finally received the royal assent.

While this act was in agitation, another passed  
the

\* Tindal.

† Ibid.



Period VI. the lords, and was sent down to the commons,  
 1734 to 1737. "For the more effectual bringing to justice, any  
 June 3. persons concerned in the barbarous murder of captain John Porteous, and punishing such as shall knowingly conceal any of the said offenders." This bill was of a severe nature, and was directed to be read, for a stated time, by the established clergy of Scotland, in their pulpits, every Sunday. Amongst other clauses, it contained an indemnity to any person who was concerned in the murder, provided he discovered and convicted an accomplice, before the first of February. This clause was added to the bill by the commons, as was also another, promising "a reward of £.200 to any one who should discover, and convict, by their evidence, any person concerned in the murder." These provisions were by many thought too severe, and censured as giving too great encouragement to informers. The Scots, when the act was read to them, treated it with the utmost contempt; and though many thousands were publicly concerned in the murder, and some of them tried, yet none were legally convicted.\*

These proceedings augmented the unpopularity of the minister, by inflaming the resentment of Scotland, and facilitated the efforts of the duke of Argyle, to return, at the next elections, a majority of the Scots members in favour of opposition.

Proposal for  
the reduction  
of interest.

Sir Robert Walpole incurred great censure by  
the

\* Tindal, vol. 20. p. 344.—The reader is referred for the above particulars, to the Correspondence—Lords' Debates—Chandler—Journals—Tindal—Political State of Great Britain.

the alienation of the sinking fund; and has been exposed to no less obloquy, for his opposition to Sir John Barnard's scheme, for reducing the interest of the national debt. He has been accused by party, prejudice, or misapprehension, of the meanest motives for adopting this line of conduct: motives so contradictory, that they refute each other. By some,\* he was suspected of having clandestinely promoted the introduction of the bill. It was insinuated that, at first, he intended it should pass; and that he only deferred the measure until the queen, who was supposed to have a million in the funds, could sell out to advantage. Others,† on the contrary, ascribe his opposition to the mean spirit of jealousy, and reproach the minister with having exerted the whole power of government, that he might deprive Sir John Barnard of his due applause.

In the committee of supply the minister moved March 9. a resolution, that a sum of one million should be taken from the sinking fund, and applied to redeem a million of old South Sea annuities. The motion was opposed by several members, principally of the minority, who argued for the expediency of appropriating that sum to the discharge of the debt due to the bank, because the interest paid to the bank was six per cent. whereas that on the other parts of the public debt did not exceed four. They accordingly proposed the amendment; but the original motion was carried without a division.

On

\* Opinions of the Dukes of Marlborough, p. 45.

† Sinclair on the Revenue, chap. 5.

Period VI.

1734 to 1737.

Sir John Barnard's scheme.

On the 14th of March the resolution was reported and agreed to.\* On this occasion, Sir John Barnard proposed, that the house should resolve itself into a committee, to take into consideration the national debt, and to receive any proposal which might be made to reduce the interest to three per cent. The minister, after a few observations on the danger of meddling with public credit, or taking any step which might be likely to affect it, without the most mature reflection, declared that he had no objection to a committee, because time would be allowed for deliberation; and concluded, that if any reasonable scheme for reducing the interest should be then proposed, he should readily agree to it.

On the 18th, the account of the national debt, which amounted to £.47,866,596, was produced. On the 21st, the house resolved into a committee of supply, and Sir John Barnard brought forward his scheme. With a view to popularity, it was called, a proposal towards lowering the interest of all the redeemable debts to three per cent. and thereby to enable the parliament *to give immediate ease to his majesty's subjects*, by taking off some of the taxes which are most burthensome to the poor, and especially to the manufacturers, as likewise *to give ease to the people*, by lessening the annual taxes for the current service of the year. †

Though

\* Journals.

† The proposal was as follows :

“ That an offer be made to the proprietors of the South Sea Annuities, as well old as new, at such times as the respective transfer books shall be shut, in the following manner; viz. That all persons



Though the principle of the measure was such as to intitle its founder to expect much popularity, yet as the interests and prejudices of many persons were to be combated, great opposition was excited,

be at liberty to make their option for the whole, or any part of their capital of one or more of the particulars undermentioned, for which books be laid open at the South Sea house, for so long time as shall be thought proper; viz. All who desire to be paid their money, to enter their names and sums in one book. Those who shall chuse to have annuities for certain terms of years, and the capital to be annihilated, may subscribe in particular books for that purpose, at the following rates:

For 47	Years at	4	per Cent.	per Ann.
31	Years at	5	-	-
23½	Years at	6	-	-
19	Years at	7	-	-
16	Years at	8	-	-
13½	Years at	9	-	-
12	Years at	10	-	-

“ That the proprietors of so much of the capital, as shall not be claimed in money, nor subscribed into some of the annuities for terms of years, shall, for the future, be intitled to an annuity of 3 per cent. per annum only. And for the encouragement of the annuitants to accept of 3 per cent. per annum, it is proposed, that they be not subject to redemption or diminution of their annuities for the term of 14 years. And that all the annuities for terms of years be transferable at the South Sea house, without any charge; as well as the annuities which shall be continued at 3 per cent. per annum. And that all the annuities for terms of years, commence from the determination of the annuities of 4 per cent. without any loss of time. It is apprehended, that this offer will be more beneficial to the proprietors than the remaining in their present situation, and receiving a million at a time, to be divided alternately between the old and the new annuitants, which must affect them in a very high manner, as it tends greatly to reduce their capital, by continual laying out the money paid off in new annuities at advanced prices.

“ If the parliament should be willing to indulge any persons, not being foreigners, who may be advanced in years, with annuities for term of life; the following rates are submitted to the consideration of gentlemen who have turned their thoughts to this subject; viz.

To persons 44 Years old, or upwards, 7 per Cent. for Life.

53	-	-	-	-	8
59	-	-	-	-	9
63	-	-	-	-	10

“ If these rates for lives, or any other rates, should be thought convenient to be offered; it is then proposed, that the old and new annuitants



Period VI.  
1734 to 1737.  
March 21.

cited, and the stores of argument and calculation exhausted in defending the plan.

Sir John Barnard moved, in a committee of supply, "that his majesty be enabled to raise money, either by sale of annuities for years or lives, at such rates as should be prescribed, or by borrowing at an interest not exceeding three per cent. to be applied towards redeeming old and new South Sea annuities, and that such of the annuitants as should be inclined to subscribe their respective annuities, should be preferred to all others."

This motion occasioned long debates. It was principally defended by the landed, and resisted by the monied interest, and the minister's friends were divided. The house did not appear inclined to adopt any specific determination; some of those who were averse to the measure, declared themselves incapable of giving their opinion, without due reflection and more information. They moved, therefore, that the farther consideration should be deferred till that day se'nnight, which was agreed to without opposition. This point being carried, the adversaries of the bill made another effort, which was attended with success. It had been urged as an objection, that a considerable part of the South Sea annuities belonged to widows

annuitants be permitted to subscribe any part of their capital, they being within the limitation of years above expressed; and that none of the proposals foregoing be made for ready money; because it is reasonable that the present creditors should have the preference in any advantageous offer made by the parliament, as this is apprehended to be, since money may be raised at 3 per cent. per annum, with a liberty of redeeming the same at pleasure."

widows and orphans, and to persons who were proprietors of small sums: this suggestion had a great effect upon the house. Willing therefore to take advantage of this impression, they moved on the following day, that an account should be laid before the house, of the quantity of old and new South Sea annuity stock, holden by any executors, administrators, or trustees; which accounts were presented on the ensuing Friday.

Hitherto the minister took no public part, either for or against the scheme; although he was generally supposed \* to be inclined in its favour. But from this period he was determined to oppose it, though he thought it prudent to act with circumspection, as many members, who were personally attached to him, favoured the measure. In this situation the minister had watched the progress of public opinion, and found it decidedly adverse to the proposal, which excited the most violent clamours among the proprietors of the funds.

During the adjournment of the business, the ministerial papers were filled with objections to the measure, and a perspicuous statement †, exposing

\* Robert Trevor to Horace Walpole, April 19, 1737. Correspondence. Opinions of the duchess of Marlborough.

† "As I can by no means approve of the scheme, published in your paper of Saturday last, for reducing the interest of the national debt to 3 per cent. I shall, for the sake of those who are not acquainted with calculations of this kind, make a few observations on the proposed method of reduction, that such proprietors of the public funds may see how far their interests are like to be affected by it. And, in the first place, I observe, that the annuities proposed for certain terms of years are calculated at compound interest, allowing the annuitants 3 per cent. for their money, and the surplus of the annuity is to reimburse them their purchase money at the same rate of interest.

Period VI. posing its inexpediency, appeared in the Whitehall  
 1734 to 1737. Evening Post, which was either drawn up by the  
 minister himself, or approved by him. In the  
 same paper, of the 26th, an appeal was made to  
 the feelings and passions of the public, in which  
 the

“ To explain this, I shall fix upon the first annuity proposed, which is 4 per cent. for 47 years, at the end of which the capital is to be annihilated. By this proposal, the purchaser is to receive 3 per cent. interest, and the remaining 1 per cent. is to reimburse the purchase money in the term proposed at compound interest; but I cannot think this a fair method of computation in the present case; for, although it be true, that £.1 per annum will, in 47 years, amount to £.100 at compound interest; yet it is highly improbable, if not impossible, that interest upon interest, or indeed any interest at all, should be made of such small sums for 47 years running, as must be done, to raise the sum advanced; and therefore such a method of calculation must be fallacious, and nothing but the surplus of the annuity can be safely relied on for reimbursement of the purchase money; and then it will be evident to the meanest capacity, that if the annuitants are allowed 3 per cent. for their purchase money, they will, at the end of 47 years, have received no more than 47 per cent. of their principal; and in all the other cases the purchasers of the proposed annuities will be considerable losers; only it is to be observed, that the shorter the term is, the less the loss will be: for if the annuity be 7 per cent. for 19 years, the purchasers will receive back 76 per cent. and if 10 per cent. be allowed for 12 years, they will receive back 84 per cent. of their principal money: the reason of which is very obvious to those who know, that compound interest is a series of geometrick progression.

“ Secondly, I observe, that if, out of any of the proposed annuities, there is annually reserved a sum sufficient to reimburse the purchase money, the annuitants will not receive an interest of 2 per cent. upon their principal. And for the proof of this, I shall only take notice of the two extremes and middle term in the annuities proposed; by which it will appear, that if £.2 out of £.4 be reserved for 47 years, it will raise no more than £.94, and if £.5 out of £.7 be reserved for 19 years, it will amount to no more than £.95, and £.8 out of £.10 for 12 years, will give only £.95.

“ Thirdly, It is to be observed, that the method proposed will not enable the parliament to give immediate ease to his majesty's subjects, by taking off some of the taxes which are most burthenome to the poor, and especially to the manufacturers; for, by the first proposal, the same annual interest which is now paid, viz. 4 per cent. is to be continued for 47 years; and consequently the taxes by which that interest is raised must be continued for that term, which will give but small relief to the present generation. And in all the other cases, the annual interest must be augmented, instead of being reduced: for if the proprietors of £.20,000,000 of the public debts could be supposed to accept any of these annuities upon the terms proposed, the  
 annual



the bill was described, as tending to ruin trade, to depopulate the capital, to impoverish widows and orphans, to reduce the farmers to day labourers, and the sons of noblemen and gentlemen to farmers.

Chapter 47.

1737.

These exaggerated declamations made a deep impression on the public mind. When the house met on the 28th to resume the consideration of the bill, Sir John Barnard entered into a full explanation

Sir John Barnard's speech.

annual interest must then be increased in the following manner; viz.

	£.
For 31 Years - - -	200,000 per Ann.
23½ Years - - -	400,000
19 Years - - -	600,000
16 Years - - -	800,000
13½ Years - - -	1,000,000
12 Years - - -	1,200,000

“Fourthly, I observe, That the other part of the scheme, which relates to annuities upon lives, is liable to the same objection: for if the proposed annuities are taken at a medium of  $8\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. and the lives are supposed at a medium to continue 18 years (which very nearly coincides with the rules laid down for finding the number of years due to any given life) then it will be evident that a further interest of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. must be raised to pay such annuities, which will more than double the present annual interest.

“Fifthly, It is to be observed, that this scheme is not calculated for the good of the whole, but, according to the old proverb, to rob Peter to pay Paul, or, to remove the burthen from one part of the community, and lay it upon another, and upon that part too which hath already contributed no less than six shillings and eight-pence in the pound towards lessening the public debts. I am unwilling to charge the author with an intention to oppress the proprietors of the public funds, though his scheme manifestly tends to it: but why does his tenderness lie all on one side? Is there no part of it due to those widows and orphans, who have no other way of subsistence, but the income of small fortunes in government securities? For my part, I cannot perceive the honesty or policy of easing one part of the community, by distressing another; neither can I apprehend any wisdom or justice in making invidious distinctions between the landed and monied interest, since it is in a great measure owing to those, who ventured their fortunes in the public funds, that the Protestant part of this nation have any lands or liberties left. I do therefore hope that their present interest will not be lessened; but if nothing else will serve, I am persuaded I can propose a way of doing it that will be the least injurious to them of any that can be thought of, which, if called upon, I am ready to publish.”



Period VI.

1734 to 1737.

planation of his scheme, and laboured with great address and ability to obviate these popular objections. He went over all the grounds of political expediency, and in the course of a very long and ingenious explanation, urged, that in every view of the subject, relating to the extension of commerce, both domestic and foreign, to the encouragement of industry, the increase of population, the augmentation of the manufactures, and the improvement of agriculture, this plan would be attended with the most extensive and beneficial consequences. He said, that even those public securities which bore an interest of three per cent. only, were sold at a premium in Change Alley: he was, therefore, persuaded, that all those who were willing to give a premium for a three per cent. security, would gladly lend their money to government for the same interest, should books of subscription be opened for that purpose, with an assurance, that no part of the principal should be paid off for fourteen years. He expatiated on the national advantages that would accrue from a reduction of interest. From a long series of calculations, he inferred, that in a very little time the interest upon all the South Sea annuities would be reduced from four to three per cent. without any danger to public credit, or breach of public faith; that then the produce of the sinking fund would amount to fourteen hundred thousand pounds per annum, to be applied only towards redeeming the capital of the several trading companies; he proved that this measure would bring

bring every one of them so much within the power of parliament, that they would be glad to accept of three per cent. interest on any reasonable terms; in which case the sinking fund would rise to one million six hundred thousand pounds per annum. Then the parliament might venture to annihilate one half of it, by freeing the people from the taxes upon coals, candles, soap, leather, and other such impositions as lay heavy upon the poor labourers and manufacturers: the remaining part of the sinking fund might be applied towards the discharge of those annuities and public debts, which bore an interest of three per cent. only, and afterwards, towards diminishing the capitals of the several trading companies, till the term of fourteen years should be expired; then the sinking fund would again amount to above a million yearly, which would be sufficient for paying them off, and freeing the nation entirely from all its incumbrances\*.

Walpole, among others, replied to this statement, but his arguments were confined to shew that the time was improper for the reduction of interest †. He was fully convinced that the proposal, in the shape it was offered by Sir John Barnard, was neither expedient or practicable. It became necessary therefore either to amend or throw it out. To throw it out by direct opposition, was not in his power, as notwithstanding its increasing unpopularity without doors, it still seemed

Indirectly opposed by Walpole.

\* Chandler. Smollett's History of England, vol. 2, p. 521.

† Chandler.

Period VI.  
1734 to 1737.

Proposal extended.

seemed agreeable to the general sense of the house, and was warmly supported by many of the members who were personally attached to him. His confidential friend, Mr. Howe, afterwards Lord Chedworth, had proposed the scheme in the highest terms of approbation. He said that the country gentlemen would be benefited by the reduction; that the landed interest required, and were intitled to relief, that the land had hitherto been loaded with all the burthens, while the funds had borne none; and that their necessities had arisen from the abundance of the stocks \*. Under these circumstances, Walpole, apprehensive that it would be carried with all its imperfections, adopted indirect means of throwing it out. At the close of the debate, his friend Winnington proposed to extend the reduction to all the redeemable debts. He observed, that he would not enter into the question, whether a reduction of interest would tend to the advantage of the nation, or whether the natural interest of money lent on public security was below three per cent. But should both be resolved in the affirmative, according to the principles of the bill, he must condemn the injustice and partiality of confining the reduction to the South Sea annuities. He was of opinion, that it ought to be extended in its operation to all the public creditors. These, he concluded, were his sentiments, and if they were approved by the house, he should move for resolutions to redeem all

\* Heads of Mr. Howe's Speech; Parliamentary Memorandums, Oxford Papers.



all public debts that were redeemable by law, and to enable the king to borrow money at three per cent. for that purpose.

These observations seemed to meet the general sentiments of the house, and Sir John Barnard could not venture to oppose them. He observed, however, that the proposal was intended to frustrate his scheme, by introducing such amendments as must render it abortive, according to the old proverb, "Grasp at all, and lose all." He added, that although government could borrow money at three per cent. sufficient to pay off so many proprietors of the South Sea annuities as were willing to accept that interest, because their united stock did not exceed twenty-four millions yet it would be extremely difficult to obtain such a loan as would discharge the whole of the redeemable fund, which amounted to forty-four millions. But as the scheme, even thus amended, might be productive of signal advantage to the nation, he should not oppose it, and he hoped the honourable gentleman would move for such a resolution as he had just intimated. Two resolutions were accordingly moved for by Winnington. They contained in substance, "That all the public funds, redeemable by law, which carry an interest of four per cent. per annum, be redeemed according to the respective provisos or clauses of redemption contained in the acts of parliament for that purpose, or (with consent of the proprietors) be converted into an interest or annuity, not exceeding three per cent. per annum, not redeemable.



Period VI. 1734 to 1737. able till after fourteen years. That his majesty be enabled to borrow from any person or persons, bodies politic or corporate, any sum or sums of money, at an interest not exceeding three per cent. to be applied towards redeeming the national debt." \*

March 30. These resolutions being reported, and carried by a majority of 220 to 157; in which division Walpole appeared in the minority, Sir John Barnard, Wortley Montague, and the master of the rolls, were ordered to prepare a bill accordingly. †

Motion for  
abolition of  
taxes.

Sir John Barnard, however, had not sufficient discretion to be satisfied with this partial victory; instead of weakening the resistance to his favourite scheme, by making it as much as possible a great national object, he on the contrary united a numerous body of adversaries, lost the vantage ground on which he before stood, and reduced it to a mere party question. He followed up the report by moving, "that the house would, as soon as the interest of all the national redeemable debt should be reduced to £.3 per cent. per annum, take off some of the heavy taxes which oppressed the poor, and the manufacturer." ‡

His view in making this unprecedented motion, was to attach popularity to his bill; but it had a contrary effect, for it was proved to be fallacious, illusory, and irregular. It was fallacious, because it assumed as facts, statements that were not

\* Chandler, vol. 9. p. 452.

† Journals.

‡ Tindal. Chandler. Journals.

not true; that the public imposts fell more heavily upon the poor in England, than in other countries, and implied, that the reduction of the interest from four to three per cent. would compensate for the loss of the revenue, if those taxes were abolished. It was illusory, because it held out a prospect of taking off the taxes several years before the reduction could be effected; and it was irregular, because it bound future parliaments to the adoption of a measure which might not at a future time be feasible. It was ably and unanswerably argued by the minister, and those who opposed it, that to agree to the resolution, would be exposing the public to unavoidable disappointment, "that it would be time enough to come to a resolution to abolish some taxes, when the scheme had taken effect, for if such a previous resolution should be adopted, and the scheme should afterwards prove altogether abortive, the whole world would laugh at their precipitancy."

In the speech which Sir John Barnard made in defence of this motion, he betrayed such a confusion of projects, and indistinctness of ideas, assumed so many principles which were untrue, and so violently transgressed the bounds of parliamentary engagement, that the motion was negatived, by 200 against 142, and the public clamour very much heightened. Rejected.

Under these unfavourable circumstances, the Bill introduced. bill, prepared on the basis of Winnington's resolutions, was presented to the house by Sir John April 22. Barnard, and it was read the first time. On the

Period VI. 29th, the bill was read a second time, and a motion being made for recommitting it, it was no less resolutely supported than vigorously attacked. Several speakers on both sides had been heard before Walpole delivered his sentiments.

Walpole's  
speech.

He began by denying the truth of an assertion, which had been assiduously disseminated, that Sir John Barnard had held private conferences with him, and settled the scheme then in agitation. He proceeded to review his own conduct during its progress; acknowledged that he had acquiesced in the committee, but that on the first reading, feeling some doubts on the propriety of the measure, he had desired time to weigh maturely its beneficial against its evil consequences. "But whatever doubts," he continued, "I might then entertain, deliberate reflection has removed them, and convinced me of its inefficiency.

"The measure is founded on plausible assumptions, that it is better to pay three than four per cent. and that it is desirable to discharge the debt of the nation. These positions are undoubtedly true, but the question is, whether the method proposed to effect them is just and adequate? We must take care not to confound public necessity with public utility. Public utility differs essentially from profit or benefit gained to the public; for when profit accrues to the public, at the expense of many individuals, it loses all claim to consideration under the title of public utility. This house, in carefully attending to their duty as guardians of the national purse, must not for-

get



get that they are trustees for the creditors. We must not assume a right to prejudice the public creditors, or to convert the right of redemption which we possess, into a right of reduction, to which we have no claim. Debts not originally subject to reduction, are, in that respect, in the situation of irredeemables, and the faith of parliament is equally pledged to prevent any reduction without the consent of the proprietors. If we advert to the time and manner in which these debts were created, every argument against the reduction of interest, acquires a great additional force. At that disastrous period, the creditors of the South Sea and East India companies had a power to demand the whole amount of their bonds. Their forbearance was essentially necessary to the defence and well-being of the community; for, had they persisted in claiming their principal, the whole must have fallen on the landed interest, or the result must have been such as I dare not mention, or hardly think of. And is the service then rendered to the country, to be now repaid by a compulsory reduction of their dividends? I call it compulsory, for any reduction by terror, can only be described by that name. If they are to be so reduced, the pretence is, that it will ease the current service, or take off taxes; but that would be only to take the taxes off others, to be imposed on them, in the most cruel and insupportable manner. It would be equally just to take away one fourth from the income of every individual, or to deprive him of one fourth of his



Period VI.  
1734 to 1737.

lands or stock in trade; or rather the injustice would be less in such case, because the national creditor is, by express contract, exempt from all public taxes and impositions.

“ Nor is it true that the interest proposed is equivalent to the value of money; for though money cannot be invested in the funds without an advance above three per cent. at par, yet all loans on real securities, on estates, or on personal securities, bear a much higher interest. The preference given to the funds, arises from various causes; from the facility of receiving interest, cheapness of transfer; and from none more than the faith placed in the national honour, which is bound to suffer no loss to fall on the public creditor. Stock, while the credit remains untarnished, is but another name for ready money bearing interest, a property which in no other case can attach to ready money; and if the confidence now placed in the guardians of the public honour is diminished, even that advantage will not in future tempt individuals to trust their money out of their own custody. No diminution of taxes, or other contingent advantage, can compensate for such a privation; nor is it to be compared to a repayment of the principal at any time, however inconvenient, for it is not to be supposed that any one would prefer a sudden and absolute privation of one fourth of his whole income, to the casual and distant resumption of 10 or 15 per cent. on his capital, not to be effected without

an equivalent payment, which may be delayed by accident, or frustrated by necessity.

“ The injustice of the present plan appears in this, that it is calculated to mark out all the great companies, and to benefit the borrowers at the expence of the lenders. But this is not the whole extent of the evil. A double duty is incumbent on the legislature; to use their utmost exertions towards paying the national debt, and to avoid creating distresses and discontent. Now the whole number of persons interested in the stock to be affected by the proposed measure, is about 23,000, of these, upwards of 6,000 are interested as executors, administrators, and trustees, and upwards of 17,000 are possessed only of sums not exceeding £.1,000. The executors and trustees must be greatly embarrassed, especially if the sums committed to them are small, in perfecting the purposes for which they are confided; and those who possess such small sums as do not amount to £.1,000 must be much distressed by so unexpected and wanton a reduction of their income.”

The minister, in the course of these observations, took an ample review of the bill, which he shewed to be unequal to the ends it was designed to answer. He proved that the alternatives of the proposition, produced repugnant and discordant effects; and that the plan was destructive of the purposes, and inadequate in benefit to the sinking fund.

On this head, he should beg leave to take notice of a circumstance that personally alluded to him. Gentlemen had discussed, in the course of

Period VI.

1734 to 1737.

the debate, *the advantages which had been derived from the plan of reducing the national debt from six to five per cent. which he had the honour of proposing to the house.* They had conceived it impossible for him to resist a similar reduction from four to three per cent. without the grossest inconsistency. But he was free to declare, that he could oppose the present scheme without subjecting himself to that imputation. It became his duty, on the authority of the former scheme, to give his negative to this, because no two schemes ever differed more widely in their intention, effect, and consequences.

He then stated the difference between the present scheme, and that which he had proposed. "This scheme," he observed, "is compulsory, mine was optional. On the former occasion, money was prepared; on this, it was yet to be raised. My scheme laid the foundation, this reverses the whole system of the sinking fund. Mine was founded upon converting numbers of years at higher rates, into perpetuities at lower rates. This plan establishes terms of years at higher rates, in lieu of perpetuities at lower rates, after an expiration of twenty years of the former terms. This was intended to lock up the sinking fund for several years, of which the shortest term was not less than twelve, and the longest forty-seven. During this time, all reduction of interest would be prevented, all abolition of taxes rendered impracticable, and a necessity imposed of laying fresh burthens in case of emergency. Whereas mine had a contrary tendency; a million of the debt might



might be annually discharged, or some of the existing taxes might be abolished, or the imposition of fresh taxes prevented, by applying the surplusses of the sinking fund to the current service.

“ The declared intention of the bill is, to give ease to the subject; and the title specifies *immediate* ease. But its tendency is calculated to violate this very principle, and to falsify the title, for no ease can be given, until the reduction has taken place, and that event is distant, uncertain, and precarious. In fact, the present disadvantages of the scheme proposed by the honourable gentlemen, evidently appear from the affectation with which he expatiated on *his love to posterity*. For certain it is, that his scheme cannot benefit the present generation, but its salutary effects will principally be confined to those who are yet unborn.”\*

Sir John Barnard said in reply, “ I am very much obliged to the honourable gentleman, Sir, and therefore, I thank him for vindicating me from the imputation of having had any private conversation with him, or of having ever had any concert with him, and if he is afraid lest people should suspect his having had a hand in the scheme I proposed to you, I shall be equally just to him, by declaring, I never had any private conversation with him about it, nor did I so much as ask his approbation or consent to what I was to

\* The substance of this speech is taken from parliamentary minutes in the hand-writing of Sir Robert Walpole. Walpole Papers.



Period VI.

1734 to 1737.

to offer; but as to the scheme as it now stands, every gentleman that hears me, knows it is very different from what I offered; and every one likewise knows, that the new model, which is the model we have now before us, if it was not offered by the honourable gentleman himself, it was at least offered by some of his friends; and what they proposed was agreed to by other gentlemen, in order that we might have their assistance in carrying it through. Therefore the scheme now before you, cannot properly be called mine; and it is very remarkable, that all objections made to the bill, are only to those articles and clauses of it, which relate to the improvements and additions made to my scheme, by the honourable gentleman's friends." \* The house divided, and the question of committing the bill was negatived, by 249 against 134. †

Bill rejected.

Walpole's motives.

It is difficult, without farther documents on this subject than I possess, to ascertain all the motives

\* Chandler, vol. 9. p. 479.

† I have dwelt thus particularly on the consideration of Sir John Barnard's scheme, because the accounts given by most writers, who have fallen under my observation, are superficial and inaccurate. Even Tindal is unusually short and barren of information. Tindal, vol. 20. p. 348.

Smollett, excepting a good abstract of Sir John Barnard's speech, which I have adopted in the text, is extremely deficient. He says it produced other debates, and was at last *postponed* by dint of ministerial influence. The falsity of this account is evident. Smollett, vol. 2. p. 627.

Belsham observes, "A bill was, however, ordered upon the basis of Winnington's proposition, which being in the sequel warmly attacked, and faintly defended, was finally postponed to a distant day, by a motion of the minister." In this short account there are three errors. It was warmly attacked, but by no means faintly defended. It was not finally postponed to a distant day, but the second reading was only put off for seven days; and it was then negatived, but not on the motion of the minister. Belsham, vol. 1. p. 389.

motives which induced the minister to resist the reduction. It may be sufficient, perhaps, to attribute it to a full conviction, that the measure was highly and generally unpopular. He had relinquished his favourite excise scheme, notwithstanding the certainty of its beneficial tendency, solely on that account. It was not to be supposed that he would promote this scheme, of the good tendency of which he was not assured, and which in many respects was partial and unjust.

But in addition to this motive, I can suggest two others, which influenced his dissent. First, he foresaw, from the disputes with Spain, which then began to rise, that the nation might be involved in a war, and that government could borrow with greater facility at four per cent. than at three. He was still more swayed by another motive, which he could not venture to disclose. He had already appropriated part of the surplus of the sinking fund to the current service of the year, and as the measure was extremely popular, he had resolved, in case of emergency, to alienate the whole. But his design would have been frustrated by this bill, which would have locked up the greatest part of the sinking fund for several years, and have rendered it necessary to impose new taxes for the purpose of supplying the incidental expences. \*

An

\* A reduction of interest took place in 1749, upon a plan, which has been described as similar, though it is essentially different from the original scheme proposed by Sir John Barnard. It was finally carried, though not without great opposition, by the united influence of the minister (Pelham) and Sir John Barnard.

Period VI. An act of this session, which is commonly de-  
 1734 to 1737 nominated the playhouse bill, has exposed the  
 Playhouse bill. minister to no less obloquy, from subsequent  
 writers, than his opposition to the reduction of  
 interest.

Those who thus load him with indiscriminate  
 censure, and impute this act solely to his *despotic*  
*influence*, have not paid due attention to the his-  
 tory of the English stage, to the power of the  
 lord chamberlain over the players and theatrical  
 representations, and to the opinion of the most  
 moderate and best informed magistrates at the  
 period of passing this act, which has been so much  
 calumniated, and so little understood.

It is needless to discuss the question concern-  
 ing the necessity of fixing some bounds to the li-  
 centiousness of the stage. The necessity must be  
 allowed, except by those who think it fitting to  
 subject to public mockery, law, government, and  
 religion, and to expose magistrates, judges, and  
 kings, to the personalities of satire, buffoonery,  
 and low mimicry. In all well regulated govern-  
 ments, the fact has been universally admitted,  
 and wherever it has not been adopted, the most  
 fatal consequences have followed. Even the freest  
 democracy which perhaps ever existed, that of  
 Athens, after having experienced the effects of  
 unrestrained licentiousness in their theatrical per-  
 formances, found it necessary to remedy the evil,  
 and to limit the stage within the boundaries of  
 common decency and justice.

Power of the  
 lord chamber-  
 lain.

It appears from the history of the English stage,  
 that no period ever existed when it was not sub-  
 ject



ject to superintendence, when players were not licenced, and when plays were not reviewed and amended, allowed, or rejected. Before the reign of Henry the Eighth, the power of superintending the king's hunting parties, the direction of the comedians, musicians, and other royal servants, appointed either for use or recreation, was exclusively vested in the lord chamberlain.

Under him, and subject to his controul, was an inferior officer, who exerted himself on particular occasions for the purpose of regulating pageants, public festivals, and masquerades. This man was called by the fanciful names of the *Abbot of Misrule*, or *Lord of Pastimes*. But in the reign of Henry the Eighth, this temporary office was rendered regular and permanent by letters patent, and called the office of *Master of the Revels*. \*

Under Elizabeth, some wise regulations, with the advice of Walsingham, and co-operation of Burleigh, were made for allowing the use, but correcting the abuse of the stage; particularly, when the earl of Leicester obtained the first general licence for his theatrical servants to act stage plays in any part of England, a proviso was added in the patent, enjoining that *all comedies, tragedies, interludes, and stage plays, should be examined and allowed by the master of the revels*. Thus that authority which was before confined to the pastimes of the court, was now extended to the theatrical exhibitions of the whole kingdom.

During

\* Officium magistri jecorum, reuelorum et maseorum.



Period VI.  
1734 to 1737.

During her reign also, the privy council exercised an authority, legislative and executive, over the dramatic world. They opened and shut playhouses ; gave and recalled licences ; appointed the proper seasons when plays ought to be presented or with-held ; and regulated the conduct of the lord mayor of London, and the vice-chancellors of Oxford and Cambridge, with regard to plays and players. The privy council gave Tilney, the master of the revels in 1589, two co-adjutors, a statesman and a divine, to assist him in reforming comedies and tragedies.

These prudent regulations, and the wisdom with which they were exercised, were attended with the most beneficial effects. The master of the revels, by regulating the stage, and restraining the number of theatres, gave greater respectability to the profession of a player, and the genius of the drama expanded and soared to a greater height, although its limits were contracted and its flight circumscribed.

Had not these wise regulations taken place, Shakespeare might have confined to burlesque farces, and low buffoonery, those vast powers of invention and description which his own language can alone adequately delineate.

"The poet's eye in a fine frenzy rolling,  
Glances from heav'n to earth, from earth to heav'n,  
And as imagination bodies forth  
The forms of things unknown, the poet's pen  
Turns them to shape, and gives to airy nothing  
A local habitation and a name."\*

By

By the wise and temperate use which the master of the revels made of his power, his weight and influence increased, and he gradually appropriated to himself the greater part of that authority, which had belonged to the lord chamberlain. During the latter part of the reign of James the First and Charles the First, it was held by Sir Henry Herbert, \* nearly allied to the earl of Pembroke, lord chamberlain: under his prudent management the reputation and consequence of the office increased, and produced the most salutary effects, until his functions were wholly suspended, by the troubles and confusion of the civil wars, and the fanaticism of the republicans.

On the restoration of Charles the Second, the master of the revels endeavoured to re-assume his former authority, but met with insuperable opposition from the proprietors and managers of the king's and duke's companies, one of whom had obtained a fresh licence to act plays, the other a renewal of a former grant. In vain the master of the revels applied to the courts of justice for redress; in vain he appealed to the sovereign, or to the lord chamberlain; he was neither supported by the one, or countenanced by the other; his authority, though not overthrown, was considerably shaken, and his regulations were combated and despised.

During this suspension of his power, the particular

\* Brother to the eccentric lord Herbert, of Cherbury, and of George Herbert, rector of Bemerton, known by the name of the divine Herbert.

Period VI. 1734 to 1737. ticular differences, pretensions, or complaints, were generally settled by the personal interference of the king and duke, or referred to the decision of the lord chamberlain. In consequence of this relaxation of authority, and the libertine character of the court, the theatre was disgraced by the grossest ribaldry and obscenity, and the best authors vied who should produce the most licentious comedies. Ladies could not venture to attend a new play without masks, then daily worn, and admitted into the pit, the side boxes, and the gallery.

On the death of Sir Henry Herbert, the mastership of the revels was conferred on Charles Killigrew, manager of the king's company. The union of these two functions increased the evil, and the smallest check was not imposed on the glaring immorality of the stage.

At the revolution, the power of the lord chamberlain over the theatre was revived without restriction. He opened and shut playhouses, imprisoned and licensed players, corrected and rejected plays. Under him the master of the revels seems to have recovered some part of his former power, and to have had his share in the revolutions of the theatre. He revised and sanctioned plays, and his aid greatly contributed to the celebrated conquest which Jeremy Collier, by the publication of his short view of the stage, obtained over the immorality of the drama. In this publication, the most profane and obscene passages in several modern plays, which had been written by Dryden, Vanbrugh,

brugh, Wycherley, Congreve, and the most admired dramatic authors, were detected and exposed. The truth of his observations, which all the wit and talents of the authors who were deservedly chastised could not controvert, produced a surprising effect; a general outcry was raised against the licentiousness of the stage, and king William sent the following order to the play-houses: "His majesty being informed, that notwithstanding an order made in June 1697, by the earl of Sunderland, then lord chamberlain of the king's household, to prevent the profaneness and immorality of the stage, several plays have lately been acted, containing several expressions contrary to religion and good manners: And whereas the master of the revels hath represented, that, in contempt of the said order, the actors did neglect to leave out such profane and indecent expressions, as he had thought proper to be omitted: therefore, it is his majesty's pleasure, that they shall not hereafter presume to act any thing in any play, contrary to religion and good manners, as they shall answer at their utmost peril." At the same time, the master of the revels was commanded not to licence any plays containing irreligious or immoral expressions, and to give notice to the lord chamberlain, or in his absence to the vice-chamberlain, if the players presumed to act any thing which he had struck out. \*

But this reformation did not continue long in its full force. As soon as the first awe and panic



Period VI. of the actors had subsided, the stage nearly re-  
 1734 to 1737. lapsed into its former immorality, all attempts to  
 reform it became the object of theatrical wit, and  
 were ridiculed in plays, prologues, and epilogues.  
 Although the new plays were usually more decent  
 and moral, yet the old plays were frequently  
 acted, without being freed from their exception-  
 able passages.

Either in consequence of these proceedings, or  
 of some disputes which arose between the actors  
 of the royal theatres, and produced the desertion  
 of the principal performers from Drury Lane to  
 the Haymarket, the nuisance of playhouses, and  
 the conduct of the performers, became so flagrant,  
 that a bill, in the twelfth year of queen Anne,  
 included players, who acted without a legal set-  
 tlement in the places where they performed,  
 among vagrants, and subjected them to the same  
 penalties as rogues and vagabonds. But before  
 the beneficial effects of this act could have time  
 to operate, the death of the queen produced a  
 new revolution in the drama.

Soon after the accession of George the First, the  
 power of the master of the revels, which had been  
 considerably circumscribed, was almost annihilated;  
 a new patent was injudiciously granted to Sir  
 Richard Steele, Colley Cibber, and Booth, for act-  
 ing plays without subjecting them to the licence  
 or revision of any officer.

In consequence of this grant, the master of the  
 revels was abridged of his power, and defrauded  
 of his dues, and his emoluments were reduced to  
 a small

a small salary from the exchequer, to lodgings in Chapter 47.  
Somerſet Houſe, and to occaſional fees. 1737.

At the death of Charles Killigrew, the office, thus mutilated, was conferred on Charles Henry Lee, and the decline of his power was ſufficiently ſhewn by the growing licentiousneſs of the ſtage, and the numerous pieces which offended equally againſt religion, decency, and common ſenſe. 1724.

Although, in all the letters patent for acting plays ſince the time of Charles the Firſt, no mention was made of the lord chamberlain, yet he was ſtill conſidered as poſſeſſing an abſolute, though an undefinable authority over the ſtage, which he had occaſionally exerciſed. The performance of ſeveral theatrical pieces had been prevented, particularly *Lucius Junius Brutus*, a prologue of Dryden to the *Prophetess*, *Mary queen of Scotland*, and recently *Polly*, the ſequel to the *Beggar's Opera*.

But as this exerciſe of his power had been always attended with much unpopularity, it was ſeldom exerted. Numerous theatres were erected in different parts of the metropolis, in which the actors performed without licence or authority. To prevent this, ſeveral attempts were made to enforce the laws then exiſting. An actor, who performed on the theatre of the Haymarket, without licence, was taken from the ſtage, by the warrant of a juſtice of peace, and committed to Bridewell, as coming under the penalty of the vagrant act. The legality of the commitment was diſputed; a trial enſued; it was decided, that

Period VI. the comedian being a housekeeper, and having a  
 1734 to 1737 vote for electing members of parliament, did not  
 come within the description of the said act; and  
 he was discharged amidst the loud acclamations of  
 the populace. The issue of this trial gave full  
 scope to the licentiousness of the stage, and took  
 away all hopes of restraining the number of play-  
 houses.

From this representation of the state of the  
 drama, it is evident, that some reformation was  
 indispensably necessary. The minister himself  
 had long seen that necessity. The obloquy which  
 pursued him was not confined to the press; the  
 stage was made the vehicle of the most malig-  
 nant sarcasms, not expressed in the elevated tone  
 of tragedy, or couched in sentiments and lan-  
 guage perceptible only to men of refined under-  
 standings; but his person was brought on the  
 stage, his actions maligned, his measures misre-  
 presented and arraigned, and his conduct made  
 the sport of the populace, in all the petulance of  
 vulgar farce. He was unwilling, however, to  
 make this a personal consideration, but rather a  
 public and national question, in which the good  
 of the law, constitution, religion, and morality,  
 was intimately involved, and such an opportunity  
 seemed to present itself, when Sir John Barnard  
 brought in a bill "to restrain the number of  
 houses for playing of interludes, and for the bet-  
 ter regulating of common players of interludes."

March 5, 1735.

Bill for re-  
 straining the  
 number of  
 playhouses.

On representing the mischiefs which theatres  
 had done to the city of London, by corrupting  
 youth,



youth, encouraging vice and debauchery, and greatly prejudicing trade, the proposal was at first received with contempt and ridicule, until it was seconded by Sandys, Pulteney, and warmly supported by the minister himself. It was observed by a member, in the course of the debate, that there were at that time not less than six theatres in London. The house being fully convinced of the necessity of the bill, leave was given to bring it in without a single dissenting voice. It was accordingly, on the 3d of April presented, read the first time, and ordered to be printed; notwithstanding petitions against it from the proprietor of the theatre in Goodman's Fields, and from the master and comptroller of the revels. It was read a second time on the 14th of April.

The minister conceived this to be a favourable opportunity of checking the daring abuse of theatrical representation, which had arrived to a most extravagant height. It was proposed to insert a clause, to ratify and confirm, if not enlarge the power of the lord chamberlain, in licensing plays, and at the same time insinuated to the house, that unless this addition was made, the king would not pass it. But Sir John Barnard strongly objected to this clause. He declared that the power of the lord chamberlain was already too great, and had been often wantonly exercised, particularly in the prohibition of Polly. He should therefore withdraw this bill, and wait for another opportunity of introducing it, rather than

Period VI. 1734 to 1737. establish by law a power in a single officer so much under the direction of the crown, a power which might be exercised in an arbitrary manner, and consequently attended with mischievous effects.

Licentiousness  
of the stage.

The attempt of Sir John Barnard having thus failed, the immorality of the drama increased, and the most indecent, seditious, and blasphemous pieces were performed, and resorted to with incredible eagerness. Among those who principally supported this low ribaldry was the celebrated Henry Fielding, who, though he never shone in the higher line of perfect comedy, wrote these dramatic satires in a style agreeable to the populace. One of his pieces, called *Pasquin*, which was acted in the theatre at the Haymarket, ridiculed, in the grossest terms, the three professions of divinity, law, and physic, and gave general offence to persons of morality. "Religion, laws, government, priest, judges, and ministers," observes Colley Cibber, "were laid flat at the feet of the Herculean satirist, this Drawcanfir in wit, who spared neither friend nor foe, who to make his poetical fame immortal, like another *Erostratus*, set fire to his stage, by writing up to an act of parliament to demolish it."

This piece was peculiarly offensive to the minister, because it contained many personal allusions and invectives. But as he was not willing to employ the power of government in a mere temporary prohibition of this and other performances, which would have been extremely unpopular,

pular, and not attended with permanent effects, he wished to avail himself of the present flagrant abuse, to prevent future representations so disgraceful and indecorous.

In the course of the session, an opportunity offered, which he did not omit to seize. Giffard, the manager of Goodinan's Fields theatre, brought to him a farce, called the Golden Rump, which had been proposed for exhibition; but it is uncertain whether the intentions of the manager were to request his advice on this occasion, or to extort a sum of money to prevent its representation.

The minister, however, paid the profits which might have accrued from the performance, and detained the copy. He then made extracts of the most exceptionable passages, abounding in profaneness, sedition, and blasphemy, and submitted them to several members of both parties, who were shocked at the extreme licentiousness of the piece, and promised their support to remedy the evil. With their advice, concurrence, and promise of co-operation, he read the several extracts to the house, and a general conviction prevailed, of the necessity of putting a check to the representation of such horrid effusions of treason and blasphemy. He acted, however, with his usual prudence on this occasion. He did not bring forward, as is generally supposed, an act for subjecting all plays to the licence of the lord chamberlain, and restraining the number of play-

F F 3

houses,



Period VI. houses, but contrived to introduce it by amend-  
 1734 to 1737. ing the vagrant act.

Bill for licens-  
 ing plays.

May 20, 1737. The bill was called, "A bill to explain and amend so much of an act, made in the twelfth year of the reign of queen Anne, intituled, an act for reducing the laws relating to rogues, vagabonds, sturdy beggars, and vagrants, and sending them whither they ought to be sent, as relates to the common players of interludes." \* Leave was accordingly given to bring it in, and Pelham, Dodington, Howe, the master of the rolls, the attorney and solicitor general, were ordered to prepare it. During its rapid progress through the house, certain amendments were made, and two clauses were added. The first, which occasioned so much obloquy, empowered the lord chamberlain to prohibit the representation of any theatrical performances, and compelled all persons to send copies of any new plays, parts added to old plays, prologues and epilogues, fourteen days before they were acted, and not to perform them, under forfeiture of £. 50, and of the licence of the house. The second, which is said to have been added at the instigation of Sir John Barnard, operated in restraining the number of playhouses, by enjoining, that no person should be authorised to act except within the liberties of the city of Westminster, and where the king should reside. †

The

\* Journals.

† 1. Every person who shall for hire, gain, or reward, act, represent, or perform, or cause to be acted, represented, or performed, any interlude, tragedy, comedy, opera, play, farce, or other entertainment of the stage, or any part or parts therein, in case such person

The bill is generally said to have been warmly opposed in both houses; but it is remarkable that no trace (excepting the speech of lord Chesterfield) of this opposition is to be found in the periodical publications of the times, which are filled with accounts of the other debates. It is also certain, that not a single petition \* was presented against it,

son shall not have any legal settlement in the place where the same shall be acted, represented, or performed, without authority, by virtue of letters patent from his majesty, his heirs, successors, or predecessors, or without licence from the lord chamberlain of his majesty's household for the time being, shall be deemed a rogue and a vagabond, within the intent and meaning of the said recited act, and shall be liable and subject to all such penalties and punishments, and by such methods of conviction, as are inflicted on, or appointed by the said act for the punishment of rogues and vagabonds who shall be found wandering, &c.

2. Any person having or not having any legal settlement, who shall without such authority or licence, act, &c. for hire, &c. any interlude, &c. every such person shall, for every such offence, forfeit the sum of fifty pounds, &c.

3. No person shall for hire, &c. act, &c. &c. any new interlude, &c. or any part or parts therein, or any new act, scene, or other part added to any old interlude, &c. or any new prologue or epilogue, unless a true copy thereof be sent to the lord chamberlain of the king's household, &c. fourteen days at least before the acting, &c. together with an account of the playhouse or other place where the same shall be, &c. the time wherein the same shall be first acted, &c. signed by the master or manager, or one, &c. of such playhouse, &c.

It shall be lawful for the said lord chamberlain, as often as he shall think fit, to prohibit the acting, &c. any interlude, &c. or any act, &c. &c. thereof, or any prologue or epilogue; and in case any such persons shall for hire, &c. act any, &c. &c. before a copy shall be sent as aforesaid, or shall for hire, &c. &c. contrary to such prohibition, every person so offending shall, for every such offence, forfeit the sum of fifty pounds, and every grant, &c. (in case there be any such) under which the said master, &c. set up or continued such playhouse, &c. shall cease.

4. That no person or persons shall be authorized by virtue of, &c. from his majesty, &c. or the lord chamberlain, to act, &c. any interlude, &c. in any part of Great Britain, except in the city of Westminster, and within the liberties thereof, and in such places where his majesty, &c. shall reside, and during such residence only.

\* \* \* \* \*

5. If any interlude, &c. shall be acted, &c. in any house or place, where wine or other liquors shall be sold, the same shall be deemed to be acted, &c. for gain. &c. Statutes at large, 17 G. 2. c. 28.

\* Sir John Hawkins, in his Life of Johnson, asserts, that the ma-

Period VI. it, and not a single division appears in the journals  
 1734 to 1737 of either house. Striking proofs, if any were still  
 wanting, to shew the general opinion in favour  
 of its necessity.

The dispatch with which it was carried through both houses, affords additional evidence that it scarcely met with any resistance. The bill was ordered to be brought in on the 20th of May, read the 24th, a second time on the 25th, and committed to the whole house; ordered to be reported, with amendments, on the 26th, reported on the 27th, all amendments but one agreed to, and the bill ordered to be engrossed; passed on the first of June, and Mr. Pelham ordered to carry it to the lords. It was read the first time on the same day, the second time on the 2d, after a debate, carried in the affirmative; the third time on the 6th, returned to the commons on the 8th, without any amendments, and received the royal assent on the 21st.

It is most probable that lord Chesterfield alone spoke against the bill, and that his speech so deservedly admired, has been repeated by subsequent writers who copy each other, until a violent opposition to the measure has been supposed, which never existed.

Chesterfield did not confine his exertions to the house, but wrote against the new act, in a paper called Common Sense; his arguments have little to recommend them, at a time when the propriety

nager of Goodman's Fields presented a petition against it, and was heard by counsel, but this petition was presented against Sir John Barnard's bill in 1735.



propriety and utility of the measure against which they were directed, is generally conceded. The fatal evils which were predicted as the certain consequences of this bill, perpetual slavery and the introduction of absolute authority, have not followed; the good effects which were expected from it, have been confirmed by never failing experience. While it suppressed the licentiousness, it has not destroyed the spirit of the drama; wit has not appeared less lovely and attracting, in promoting virtue and curbing vice with decency, than in recommending treason and obscenity; nor are the shafts of ridicule rendered useless, because, while they have preserved the power to do good, they are divested of the power to do mischief. "The facts, which have been detailed, evince, with sufficient conviction, that this act of parliament merely restored to the lord chamberlain, the ancient authority which he possessed before the appointment of the master of the revels; armed him with legal power, in the place of customary privilege; and enabled him to execute, by warrantable means, the useful, but invidious trust, which experience had long required, and policy at length conferred." \*

\* Journals of the Lords and Commons. Chandler, for 1733, Lords' Debates, 1737. Colley Cibber's Apology. Jeremy Collier's View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage. Tindal, vol. 20, p. 350. Oldmixon, vol. 3. p. 192. Introduction to Biographia Dramatica. Gentleman's and London Magazine, 1737. Maty's Life of Chesterfield. Hawkin's Life of Johnson, p. 75. Smollett, vol. 3. p. 525. Burn's Justice, article Players. Chalmers's Apology for the Believers of the Shakespeare MSS. p. 471 to 543; to whose elaborate researches on this subject I have been principally indebted.

## CHAPTER THE FORTY-EIGHTH:

1737.

*Origin and Progress of the Misunderstanding between the King and Prince of Wales.—Application to Parliament.—Conduct of Walpole—of Lord Chancellor Hardwicke—of Opposition.*

Period VI.  
1734 to 1737.

THIS year was marked by two domestic events, which proved highly prejudicial to the influence of Sir Robert Walpole, and greatly contributed to hasten the close of his administration; the public opposition of the prince of Wales, and the death of queen Caroline.

Frederick Louis, prince of Wales, was born in 1707, and continued at Hanover until he had attained the twenty-first year of his age.

Causes of the  
misunderstand-  
ing.

George the Second had found, from his own experience, the embarrassments to which government might be exposed from the opposition of the heir apparent, and dreaded the arrival of a son who might irritate the state of parties, and increase the ferment arising in the kingdom against the measures of the cabinet. He from time to time deferred his removal from Hanover, and did not send for him to England, until a concurrence of circumstances rendered it impolitic to permit his longer residence on the continent.

Clamours were justly raised in England, that the heir apparent had received a foreign education, and was detained abroad, as if to keep alive an attachment to Hanover, in preference to Great Britain,

Britain. The ministers at length ventured to remonstrate with the king on the subject, and the privy council formally represented the propriety of his residence in England. The king, however, still hesitated, when an event occurred, which decided his choice, and induced him to accelerate the prince's departure from Germany.

A long negotiation had taken place between the houses of Brunswick and Brandenburg, for a double marriage between the prince of Wales and the princess royal of Prussia, and the prince royal of Prussia and the princess Amelia. This negotiation had commenced in the reign of George the First, and was eagerly promoted by his daughter Sophia Dorothy, who had espoused Frederick William, king of Prussia. Both parties seemed to have desired this union with equal anxiety; but the capricious and brutal temper of Frederick William, and his sudden secession from the treaty of Hanover, had so highly offended George the First, that he ceased to favour the proposed intermarriages. Still farther obstacles were thrown in their way at the accession of George the Second. The two kings, from their early years, had formed a violent antipathy to each other. The system of politics adopted by England increased this misunderstanding. Frederick William had been lured by the Emperor to join the allies of Vienna, in opposition to those of Hanover, and his recruiting officers frequently made illegal inrolments on the Hanoverian territories.



Period VI. In vain the queen of Prussia endeavoured to  
 1734 to 1737 reconcile her husband and brother, and to promote the conclusion of the family union, which she so earnestly desired. The antipathy of the two monarchs increased instead of abating; and the king of Prussia was endeavouring to arrange another alliance for his son and daughter, which both they and his queen highly deprecated.

During the progress of this affair, the prince had formed an attachment to the princess of Prussia, and by the secret information of his aunt, the queen of Prussia, was apprized that her daughter felt an equal affection for him.

The prince was now twenty-one; his passion was inflamed by opposition, and being filled with apprehensions of losing the object of his affection, he adopted an expedient which proved the ardour of his attachment. He sent La Mothe, a Hanoverian officer, to Berlin, who obtained a private audience of the queen, in which he told her that he was commanded by the prince to declare his resolution of repairing incognito to Berlin, and secretly espousing her daughter, if their Prussian majesties would sanction this step with their approbation. At the same time he entreated the queen that it should be communicated to no one but the king. The queen received the message with a transport of joy, approved the design, and promised to keep the secret inviolable. The next morning, however, she disclosed it to Dubourgeay, the English envoy, observing, that she believed

believed him to be so much her friend as to partake of her satisfaction. Dubourgeay expressed his concern that so important a secret should be confided to him, and declared it his duty to send immediate information to the king of England. The queen, conscious of the error which she had unwarily committed, conjured him not to betray her confidence, but he persisted in his resolution, and a messenger was immediately dispatched.\* The queen was greatly embarrassed at this unexpected incident, but trusted that the affair might be concluded before the return of the messenger from England, and so sanguine were their hopes of success, that the king of Prussia came from his hunting seat to Berlin, expecting the daily arrival of the intended bridegroom.

But while they were indulging these hopes, information was received that the prince had been sent for to England. George the Second, on the intelligence from Dubourgeay, dispatched colonel Launay, to Hanover for that purpose. The prince received these commands with respect, and instantly obeyed them. At the conclusion of a ball, he set out from Hanover, accompanied only by Launay and a single domestic, traversed Germany and Holland as a private gentleman, embarked at Helvetshuis, and arrived at St. James, where he was coldly received by his father.

The prince's arrival.

For some time after his arrival in England, the novelty of his situation, his little acquaintance

Courted by opposition.

with

\* Pointz, Histoire des quatre derniers Souverains de la Maison de Brandebourg Royale de Prusse, tom. 2. p. 182-184.

Period VI. 1734 to 1737. with the language, his total ignorance of the constitution and manners of the country, and the dread which he seems to have entertained of his father's indignation, kept him in due submission, and prevented him from openly testifying his dissatisfaction. But as he increased in years, and became conscious of his dignified station, the estrangement of his father, and the restraint in which he was kept, naturally disgusted a young prince of high spirit, and increasing popularity, and the resentment which he had conceived against his parents, excited an antipathy to the minister, in whom they had placed implicit confidence. As he had a taste for the arts, and a fondness for literary pursuits, he sought the society of persons who were most conspicuous for their talents and knowledge. He was thrown into the company of Carteret, Chesterfield, Pulteney, Cobham, and Sir William Wyndham, who were considered as the leading characters for wit, talents, and urbanity.

His house became the rendezvous of young men of the highest expectations, Pitt, Lyttleton, and the Grenvilles, whom he afterwards took into his household, and made his associates. The usual topic of conversation in select society, was abuse of the minister, and condemnation of his measures, urged with all the keenness of wit, and powers of eloquence. The prince found the men whose reputation was most eminent in literature, particularly Swift, Pope, and Thomson, adverse to



to Walpole, who was the object of their private and public satire.

But the person who principally contributed to increase his resentment against the king, and to foment his aversion to the minister, was Bolingbroke, who was characterised by the first poets of the age, as the "all accomplished St. John, the muse's friend." The prince was fascinated with his conversation and manners. His confident assertions, and popular declamations, his affected zeal to reconcile all ranks and descriptions, the energy with which he decried the baneful spirit of party, and his plausible theories of a perfect government, without influence or corruption, acting by prerogative, were calculated to dazzle and captivate a young prince of high spirit and sanguine disposition, and induce him to believe that the minister was forming a systematic plan to overthrow the constitution, and that the cause of opposition was that of honour and liberty.

So early as 1734, the misunderstanding between the father and son had increased to a very alarming degree, and the prince, encouraged by opposition, took a very injudicious step, which was calculated to provoke the king, and occasion an immediate and open rupture. He repaired to the anti-chamber, and without any previous arrangement, requested an immediate audience. The king delayed admitting him till he had sent for Sir Robert Walpole, on whose arrival, he expressed his indignation against his son, and would have proceeded to instant extremities, had not the minister

His peremptory demand.

Period VI.  
1734 to 1737.

nister contrived to calm his resentment. He strongly inculcated moderation, and persuaded the king to hear with complacency what the prince wished to communicate.

On being admitted, the prince made three requests, in a tone and manner which indicated a spirit of perseverance. The first was, to serve a campaign on the Rhine in the Imperial army; the second related to the augmentation of his revenue, at the same time insinuating, that he was in debt; the third was, his settlement by a suitable marriage. To the first and third points, the king made no answer; in regard to the second, he shewed an inclination to comply, if the prince would behave with due respect to the queen.

The king had suppressed his anger on these demands of his son; but his resentment broke out with redoubled violence, when rumours were circulated, that the prince would apply to parliament for an augmentation of his revenue. The queen exerted all her efforts to soften the king's indignation, and the minister used every argument which policy suggested to incline him to moderation, and to induce him not to drive the prince wholly into the arms of opposition. These exertions had a temporary effect.\* The rupture was suspended, and the hopes of opposition were disappointed.

Marries the  
princess of  
Saxe Gotha.

The passion which the prince had entertained for the princess Frederica, being thwarted by his parents, preyed upon his mind and increased his disgust,

\* Lettre de Mons. de Loss à Mons. de Bruhl, sans date; de Mons. John à Mons. Von Hagen, 16 de Juillet 1734. Correspondence.

disgust, and when the proposal of another union was imparted to him, he remonstrated with great marks of offended sensibility, and expressed his repugnance to espouse a princess whom he had not seen, instead of one whom he had seen and approved. When the arrangement was made for his marriage with Augusta, princess of Saxe Gotha, the prince of Wales sent for baron Borck, the Prussian minister, and complained, with much indignation, that the king his father compelled him to renounce all hopes of espousing a Prussian princess. He requested him to lay his grief before the king his master, and to assure him that he was determined to have resisted all compulsion, and was only induced to agree to the alliance with the princess of Saxe Gotha, on being informed by his mother, that the king of Prussia had refused to give him his daughter in marriage. He expressed his heartfelt regret that he was not permitted to have the honour of forming an union with a family which he loved more than his own, and to which, from his earliest infancy, all his desires had been directed; he hoped, nevertheless, that the king would not withdraw his favour and friendship. He testified his concern, that he was to be connected with a house from which he could not expect that support, which he should have found in the king of Prussia, and lamented his hard fate in being condemned to remain under the severe controul of the queen his mother. He concluded by observing, that he must submit to his destiny, that he could not see, without



Period VI. 1734 to 1737. grief, the king of England disdaining the friendship of a great monarch, without which the ruin of his house must infallibly ensue.\* The letter, in which Borck gave an account of this indiscreet conference to his master, fell into the hands of the king, and greatly irritated his inflammable temper.

On the 27th of April 1736, the prince of Wales espoused the princess of Saxe Gotha, in whose beauty, accomplishments, and virtues, he forgot his former passion. But the marriage did not remove the unfortunate misunderstanding between the father and son, it rather had a contrary tendency. The increased expences of the prince's household, without an adequate increase of income, rendered his situation still more irksome. His revenue, although enlarged from £.36,000 to £.50,000, with the emoluments of the duchy of Cornwall, did not amount to £.60,000, a sum the prince and his friends deemed insufficient to support the dignity of his station. It became matter of public animadversion, that out of a civil list of £.800,000, he received only £.50,000 a year, although the king, when prince of Wales, received £.100,000 out of a civil list of only £.700,000. But while this was industriously circulated, it was not considered, that George the Second, when prince of Wales, had a large family, and that he had several younger children, for whom he was to make a provision out of the civil

\* Letter from Borck to the king of Prussia, December 23, 1735. Oxford Papers.

civil list, which was not the case of George the First. Chapter 48.

1737.

The marriage of the heir apparent greatly increased his popularity. The affability of his manners, the courtesy of his deportment, were contrasted with the phlegmatic reserve of George the Second. His protection of letters, his fondness for the polite arts, and his rising merits, became the favourite theme of popular applause, and of parliamentary declamation among the members of opposition.

It is remarkable, that the address of congratulation to the king, on the nuptials of the prince of Wales with the princess of Saxe Gotha was moved by Pulteney, and that the principal speakers in the prince's praise, were those who uniformly opposed the measures of government. It was on this memorable occasion, that William Pitt made his maiden speech, in a strain of declamation, which a contemporary historian describes as not inferior to the great models of antiquity, "it being more ornamented than Demosthenes, and less diffuse than Cicero."\* Both he and his friend Lyttleton, who also first spoke on the same occasion, described the prince as a most dutiful son; descanted on his filial obedience and respectful submission to the will of his royal parents, and expatiated, with ostentatious energy, on his generous love of liberty, and just reverence for the British constitution. ✕ In affecting to praise the king,

April 29.

\* Tindal.

✕ Neither Pitt nor

Period VI.  
1734 to 1737.

king, for having gratified the impatient wishes of a loyal people, they gave the prior merit to the prince, for having requested a marriage so necessary to the public good, and ascribed only a secondary merit to the king for granting this request.

The manner in which this debate \* was conducted, the warm panegyric bestowed on the prince, the cold praises given to the king, and the acrimonious censures of the minister, gave great offence, and tended still farther to widen the breach.

Joins opposition.

At length the misunderstanding arose to so great a height, that the prince threw himself into the arms of opposition. Bolingbroke, who had long advised the most violent measures, now laid down a systematic plan of proceeding to be followed by the prince, the first step of which was an emancipation from all dependence on the crown, by the acquisition of a permanent allowance of £. 100,000 per annum, which the king should be compelled to grant, at the remonstrance, and under the guaranty of parliament.

Requires an increased allowance.

From the time that this scheme was first suggested by Bolingbroke, and which had been unadvisedly insinuated to the king, in 1734, before it was maturely weighed, the prince seems to have persisted in his resolution of appealing to parliament. Soon after his marriage, he mentioned his intention to the queen. The queen, perceiving that any advice would be ineffectual, affected to consider it as an idle and chimerical scheme; she



He treated it as a jest, and declared that there was not the least prospect of success. But her remonstrance had no effect. Urged on by Bolingbroke, whose last advice, before his retreat into France, was to pursue unremittingly this one favourite object, the prince at length determined to lay his case before parliament. He accordingly applied to the most respectable members of opposition, without any previous intimation, not with a view of asking advice, but of demanding support. Pulteney, though surprised at the unexpected request, declared a hearty inclination on his own part to promote the measure, but added, that he must consult his friends. Finding, however, the prince determined to persevere, he engaged for the unanimous consent of his particular friends, and offered to make the motion himself. Sir John Barnard promised his support, and Sir William Wyndham answered for the Tories; observing, that they had long desired an opportunity of shewing their regard and attachment to the prince. He also declared, that all his party were anxious to prove by their zeal, the falsity of the reproaches cast against them, that they were Jacobites, and to shew that they were misrepresented under that name.

Dodington, afterwards lord Melcombe, was the first person connected with government, to whom the prince imparted his design, and to him it was declared only on the 7th of February. Dodington gave a striking proof of firmness and integrity, by declining to support a scheme preg-

Period VI.  
1734 to 1737

nant with so many evils, and made strong and sensible remonstrances to induce the prince not to press any farther a measure which must render all who voted desperate either with the possessor of, or successor to the crown; but all his efforts were ineffectual.\*

No information was conveyed to the king, and the minister did not receive the least intimation of the business, or even suspect it, until the 13th of February. He was never before engaged in any transaction which gave him more concern or greater embarrassment. He was aware that £. 50,000 a year was inadequate to the dignified station of the heir apparent, and yet convinced that the king, incensed as he was against his son, could not be persuaded to increase that allowance. He was not however intimidated by a dread of offending the heir apparent, who might one day become his master, and did not shrink from his duty to his sovereign and to his country; but resolved to support the king in his just prerogative, and to oppose a measure which he considered as no less unconstitutional than disrespectful. He lamented, however, that the king had imprudently delayed to make the prince a permanent allowance of £. 50,000 a year, in the same manner as George the First had granted his allowance when prince of Wales, and that he had not settled a jointure on the princess. Walpole was not ignorant that the prince derived from these circumstances just cause of complaint, and that until that was removed,

\* Dodington's Diary.

moved, the opposition would have great advantage in the argument. In consequence of these sentiments, he used all his efforts to obtain a concession of these points, and finally conquered the repugnance of the king.

But the ungracious manner in which this was offered, widened rather than repaired the breach. The minister summoned a meeting at his own house, at which were present, the dukes of Newcastle, Grafton, and Devonshire, the earl of Scarborough, Horace Walpole, and lord Hardwicke, recently nominated lord chancellor, on the death of lord Talbot.\* Walpole informed them, that he had, though not without the greatest difficulty, prevailed on the king to render the prince's allowance independent, and to settle the princess's jointure, and that his majesty had been pleased to give him authority to announce to the house of commons, when the motion was made, his consent to both these points. The chancellor objected, that if this declaration should be first made in the house of commons, without properly acquainting the prince, or his treasurer, it would have the appearance of an intended surprise. He added, that the friends of the royal family might think themselves ill used, if they were reduced to so great a difficulty as that of voting in a dispute between the king and the prince, when per-

haps

Proceedings in  
the cabinet.

Feb. 19.

\* Lord Hardwicke has left a circumstantial narrative of this important transaction, from which I have selected the most interesting particulars. Hardwicke Papers.



Period VI. 1734 to 1737. haps such previous information as he recommended might have prevented the motion.

To this sensible representation, the minister, replied, that it was in vain to imagine the king could be reduced to so low an act of submission, as to permit any private communication of this kind, after the steps the prince had already taken. The suggestion, however, of the chancellor made a due impression, and Walpole persuaded the king to send a message to the prince, by some of the lords of the cabinet council.

Feb. 21.  
The king's  
message.

Accordingly, on the day in which lord Hardwicke received the great seal, while he was waiting in the antichamber with the dukes of Newcastle and Argyle, the earl of Wilmington, and other lords of the council, Sir Robert Walpole came out of the king's chamber in a great hurry, holding a paper in his hand. Calling all the lords of the cabinet to the upper end of the room, he read to them the draught of a message, in his own hand writing, and acquainted them, that it was the king's pleasure, it should be immediately carried to the prince by the lord chancellor, lord president, lord steward, and lord chamberlain.

The draught was not fairly transcribed, and several of the lords complained, that the whole business was transacted with such precipitation, that sufficient leisure was not allowed to consider the terms of the message. The time pressed extremely, and the place was highly improper for such momentous consultation. For the company which assembled to attend the levee filled the room, and could

not

not avoid hearing many of the things which passed in the course of conversation. The chancellor, however, ventured to object to the expressions, “*the undutiful measures which his majesty is informed your royal highness intends to pursue;*” but it was replied by the minister, that the king insisted on the word *undutiful*, and that it was with great difficulty he was induced not to add severer epithets. The chancellor, however, persisting in his objection, the word *intends*, was changed for *hath been advised to pursue*.

The chancellor took Walpole aside, and expostulated with him on the hardship of making such a disagreeable errand the first act of his office. The minister answered, that he had hinted this to the king, *as far as he durst venture in so nice a case*, but the king prevented all farther discussion, by exclaiming, *my chancellor shall go*.

The expostulations of the chancellor, however, produced a variation in point of form; instead of only four officers of the crown, the whole cabinet council was ordered to attend with the message. It then growing late, Sir Robert Walpole acquainted them that business of consequence was expected in the house of commons, that he and Sir Charles Wager must attend, and they both went away, leaving the foul draught of the message. Lord Ilay, under a pretence of attending the house of lords, also retired.

When the ceremony of giving the great seal was over, the remaining \* lords of the cabinet deli-

berated

\* The Lord chancellor, the earl of Wilmington, the dukes of Dorset and Grafton, the duke of Richmond, master of the horse, the duke

Period VI.  
1734 to 1737.

berated in the council chamber on the mode of executing their charge. The message was not yet copied, and a rumour was circulated, that the prince was going to the house of commons; the lord steward and the lord chamberlain were deputed to inform him, that the lords of the cabinet were ordered to attend with a message from the king, and requested to know where he would receive it. He answered, in his own apartment. As soon as the fair copy was compared with the draught, the lords went to the prince, and being shewn into the levee room, the chancellor kissed his hand, on being appointed to his high office, and received his congratulations. The door being then closed, he read the message over audibly and distinctly, as follows :

“ His majesty has commanded us to acquaint your royal highness, in his name, that upon your royal highness’s marriage, he immediately took into his royal consideration the settling a proper jointure upon the princess of Wales ; but his sudden going abroad, and his late indisposition since his return, had hitherto delayed the execution of these his gracious intentions ; from which short delay his majesty did not apprehend any inconveniences could arise, especially since no application had, in any manner, been made to him upon this subject by your royal highness : and that his majesty hath now given orders for settling a jointure upon the princess of Wales, as far as he is enabled by law,

duke of Argyle, commander in chief, the duke of Newcastle, the earl of Pembroke, groom of the stole, the earl of Scarborough, and lord Harrington.



law, suitable to her high rank and dignity, which he will, in proper time, lay before his parliament, in order to be rendered certain and effectual, for the benefit of her royal highness.

“ The king has further commanded us to acquaint your royal highness, that although your royal highness has not thought fit, by any application to his majesty, to desire, that your allowance of £.50,000 per annum, which is now paid by monthly payments, at the choice of your royal highness, preferably to quarterly payments, might, by his majesty’s further grace and favour, be rendered less precarious, his majesty, to prevent the bad consequences which he apprehends may follow, from the undutiful measures, which his majesty is informed, your royal highness has been advised to pursue, will grant to your royal highness for his majesty’s life, the said £.50,000 per annum, to be issuing out of his majesty’s civil list revenues, over and above your royal highness’s revenues arising from the duchy of Cornwall, which his majesty thinks a very competent allowance, considering his numerous issue, and the great expences which do, and must necessarily attend an honourable provision for his whole royal family.”

The chancellor having concluded, there was a short pause, and a profound silence ensued. The prince looking about him, said, my lords, “ Am I to return an immediate answer?” to which the chancellor replying, “ if your royal highness pleases,”

the

Period VI. the prince then delivered a verbal message to the  
 1734 to 1737 following import :

“ He desired the lords to lay him, with all humility, at his majesty’s feet ; and to assure his majesty that he had, and ever should retain, the utmost duty for his royal person ; that he was very thankful for any instance of his majesty’s goodness to him, or the princess, and for his majesty’s gracious intention for settling a jointure upon her royal highness ; but that, as to the message, the affair was now out of his hands, and therefore he could give no answer to it.” After which, he used many dutiful expressions towards the king, and then added, *Indeed, my lords, it is in other hands, I am sorry for it*, or to that effect. He concluded, with earnestly desiring the lords to represent his answer to his majesty in the most respectful and dutiful manner.” \*

When this answer was reported to the king in the evening, by the lords, he looked displeased, but made no reply.

Situation of the  
 minister.

The situation of the minister was rendered more embarrassing at this particular period, from the ill health of the king, who was at that time so indisposed as to give real apprehension, that he could not long survive. Hence Bolingbroke, in a letter † to Sir William Wyndham, expresses his astonishment at Walpole’s imprudence, in offending the heir apparent, who was likely to become his master,

\* Chandler, vol. 9, p. 301, 303.

† Correspondence, Feb. 3, 1738. Period VII.

ter, and the duchess of Marlborough thought his conduct no less incomprehensible.\* This circumstance had given to opposition a great accession of strength, but had no effect on the conduct of Walpole.

Chapter 48.

1737.

On the 22d Pulteney made his motion for an address, requesting the king to settle £. 100,000 a year on the prince of Wales, and the same jointure on the princess as the queen had when she was princess of Wales, assuring the king, that the house would enable him effectually to fulfil the same.

Motion in the  
house of com-  
mons.

The great points which Pulteney, and those who supported the motion, laboured to prove, were, that the prince had a claim to the proposed allowance, founded on equity and good policy, and a legal right, founded on law and precedent, and that the revenue of the civil list had been granted to George the First, and afterwards augmented under George the Second, on the express, or at least implied, condition, that, out of that revenue, the sum of £. 100,000 should be reserved for the prince of Wales, as a permanent and independent establishment, which the king had it not in his power to withhold. Pulteney supported the principles on which the motion was founded with great ability, and with a long series of historical references to heirs apparent and presumptive

\* [Feb. 6, 1736.] Heard this day, from a pretty good hand, that his majesty has been worse than they cared to own, but upon remedies they applied, his fever lessened, and was better. However, the physicians say, that if he does get over this illness, he cannot live a twelvemonth. Opinions of the Duchess of Marlborough, p. 36.



Period VI.  
1734 to 1737.

sumptive to the crown, who, he maintained, had received an independent and permanent allowance. He concluded by anticipating several cogent objections to the proposed address, arising from the impropriety and indecency of interposing between the king and the prince, between the father and the son, and of interfering with the prerogative of the crown.

The minister in reply, began by observing, that he never rose to speak upon any subject with a deeper concern, and a greater reluctance, than he did on the present important affair. He expressed the concern and embarrassment under which most members of that house must lie, in giving their votes or opinion; if they declared in favour of the motion, they must seem to injure the royal father, their sovereign, or by declining the motion, seem to injure the royal son, and apparent heir to the crown. But he would declare his sentiments with freedom, because from his *personal* knowledge of the two great characters, he was satisfied that neither of them would think himself injured, because any gentleman gave his opinion or vote freely in parliament; and he was convinced that the prince of Wales had so much wisdom, and such a true sense of filial duty, that he would never consider as a favour bestowed on him, what had the least tendency towards offering an indignity to his father.

He supported the prerogative of the crown, and the right of the king to dispose of his civil revenues, without the interference of parliament, and

to suffer no controul in the management of his own family. In the course of his speech, he communicated the substance of the message which had been sent by the king to the prince, and declared that £. 50,000 a year, exclusive of the revenues arising from the duchy of Cornwall, was a competent allowance, and as much as the king could afford out of the civil list. He expatiated on the impropriety of interposing between the father and son, deprecated the attempt to make a breach between them, entered into an historical examination of the several precedents mentioned by Pulteney, and denied that any foundation for such a parliamentary interposition could be found, except a single precedent under Henry the Sixth, whose reign was so weak, that the parliament found it necessary to assume several rights and privileges, to which they were not properly entitled. He declared, that the prince had neither a claim from equity or good policy, and still less a right, founded on law or precedent, and he mentioned that the revenues of the civil list had been granted unconditionally to the king, without the most distant allusion to a stipulation, that £. 100,000 per annum should be paid to the prince of Wales.

The reasons urged by Walpole, in contradiction to those advanced by opposition, sufficiently proved, to all dispassionate persons, that the motion was not founded on law, good policy, or precedent, and were not invalidated by the reply of Pulteney, in summing up the arguments on both sides.

But

Period VI. 1735 to 1737. But a confident and plausible assertion, advanced by a supporter of the motion, made a deep impression on the house, and seemed to vindicate the proceedings of the prince, and to arraign the conduct of the king.

“ By the regulation and settlement of the prince’s household, as made some time since by his majesty himself, the yearly expence comes to £.63,000, without allowing one shilling to his royal highness for acts of charity and generosity. By the message now before us, it is proposed to settle upon him only £.50,000 a year, and yet from this sum we must deduct the land tax, which, at two shillings in the pound, amounts to £.5,000 a year, we must likewise deduct the fixpenny duty to the civil list lottery, which amounts to £.1,250 a year, and we must also deduct the fees payable at the exchequer, which amount to about £.750 a year more, all these deductions amount to £.7,000 a year, and reduce the £.50,000, proposed to be settled upon him by the message, to £.43,000 a year. Now as his royal highness has no other estate but the duchy of Cornwall, which cannot be reckoned, at the most, above £.9,000, his whole yearly revenue can amount but to £.52,000, and yet the yearly expence of his household, according to his majesty’s own regulation, is to amount to £.63,000, without allowing his royal highness one shilling for the indulgence of that generous and charitable disposition with which he is known to be endued in a very eminent degree. Suppose then we allow him but  
£.10,000



£. 10,000 a year for the indulgence of that laudable disposition, his whole yearly expence, by his majesty's own acknowledgment, must then amount to £. 73,000, and his yearly income, according to this message, can amount to no more than £. 52,000. Is this, Sir, shewing any respect to his merit? Is this providing for his generosity? Is it not reducing him to a real want, even with respect to his necessities, and consequently, to an unavoidable dependance, and a vile pecuniary dependance too, upon his father's ministers and servants? I confess, Sir, when I first heard this motion made, I was wavering a good deal in my opinion; but this message has confirmed me: I now see, that without the interposition of parliament, his royal highness the prince of Wales, the heir apparent to our crown, must be reduced to the greatest straits, the most insufferable hardships."\*

Full credit was, at the time, given to this statement, as well because it was ostentatiously displayed by two of the prince's servants during the debate, as because the minister, to prevent great heats and animosities, made no immediate answer, and several persons were induced by this representation to vote in favour of the motion, which was negatived by a majority of only 234, against 204. †

This small majority of 30 would have been reduced to a minority, had Sir William Wyndham been able to fulfil the promise of support, which

\* Chandler.

† Journals.

Period VI. which he made to the prince in the name of his  
 1734 to 1737 party. But forty-five Tories considered the interference of parliament as hostile to the principles of the British constitution, highly democratic, and such a dangerous innovation, that they quitted the house in a body before the division; an act highly honourable to those who refused to sacrifice their principles to their party.

In the lords. On the 23d, the same motion was made in the house of peers by lord Carteret, and a similar debate ensued. It was negatived by a large majority of 103 against 40, and a protest was inserted only by fourteen peers.\*

Mis-statement of opposition. But although this unconstitutional proposition was thus thrown out in parliament, yet the smallness of the majority in the lower house, proved the difficulties under which the minister laboured. His cause was highly unpopular. The opposition introduced the question in every shape and form which was most likely to attract the public attention, and in the periodical papers and pamphlets, written with all the address and subtlety which the talents of the great leaders of the minority could supply. Among other pamphlets which were circulated with zeal, and read with avidity, was one intitled, "A Letter from a Member of Parliament to his Friend in the Country, on the Motion for addressing the King to settle £.100,000. per Annum on his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales." This work was written with such an air of candour, and plausibility of argument, and yet contained

\* Lord's Debates.

tained so much bitterness and acrimony, that the minister himself revised the answer, which was composed by lord Hervey, called "An Examination of the Facts and Reasons contained in a Pamphlet intituled, A Letter, &c." In this work, Sir Robert Walpole made several insertions, which prove the importance of the letter, and which are still extant in his own hand-writing among the Orford Papers. He here commented with greater freedom than he could venture to do in parliament, and answered the arguments in favour of the motion with more spirit than moderation, and more indignation than temper.

That part of his insertions which is most worthy of notice, was the answer given to the statement made in the house, respecting the prince's establishment, said to have been regulated by the king. From a fair investigation of the paper which the prince's officers had shewn to the house, he demonstrated, that it was not an *establishment*, but a calculation founded on the expenditure of preceding years; that it was exaggerated and overcharged in almost every branch, and that so far from having been regulated by the king, his majesty had not even a knowledge of its existence.

The indiscretion of the prince in bringing so unconstitutional a question before parliament, contrary to the judgment of his real friends; the violence of his counsellors, and particularly the petulant and indecorous insinuations thrown out



Period VI.  
1734 to 1737.

against the queen \* in the course of the debate, highly offended the king, and rendered the breach between the father and son irreparable. Coldness, reserve, and distance increased. The prince considered himself a state prisoner in the palace of his father, pined for a release, and seized the first plausible pretence of emancipating himself from the controul of his parents.

The prince  
leaves Hampton  
Court.

July 31.

The royal family being at Hampton Court, the princess of Wales was seized with the pangs of child-birth, and the prince, without the least intimation to the king and queen, hurried her away to St. James's, where she was that night delivered of a princess, before the queen, or any of the officers of state, who were accustomed to be present, could arrive.

The prince apologized for his abrupt departure to the queen, who went the next morning to visit the princess. He observed, that the suddenness with which his wife was seized, rendered it necessary to obtain immediate assistance, and that it was thought most prudent to return to London, where good assistance was to be obtained, than wait till the physicians and midwives could arrive at

\* Walpole having in his speech maintained that the parliament had no right to interfere in the creation or maintenance of a prince of Wales, and that in the case of Richard, who on the death of his father, the Black Prince, was created prince of Wales, in consequence of an address or petition from parliament, that measure was in all probability directed by Edward the Third: In reply to this assertion, the opposition indecorously alluded to the influence of queen Caroline over the king, and her preference of the duke of Cumberland to the prince of Wales, by observing, that Edward doated in his old age, and was solely governed by Alice Pierce, and his second son the duke of Lancaster.

*The conclusion of this note is entirely a mistake. It was Mr Pitt (first earl of Chatham) who first mentioned Alice Pierce, in a debate ten years after this period.*

at Hampton Court, which might be too late; he entreated the queen to explain to the king the motives which induced him to retire from Hampton Court, without intimating his design, which the hurry of his departure had alone prevented; and he professed also his intention of waiting on the king that morning. The queen advised him to delay this visit for a few days, in which the prince acquiesced. He repeated the same apology to Sir Robert Walpole and lord Harrington, who had come by the king's command to be present at the birth. The king, however, was not moved by this justification, but resolved to express his resentment in a manner no less public, than that in which he conceived the indignity was offered. A draught of a message was accordingly prepared by Sir Robert Walpole, and submitted by him to the consideration of the lord chancellor, lord Wilmington, and lord Harrington. The chancellor, with a view to shew great tenderness to the situation of the princess, and to gain time for conciliation, before the most aggravating circumstances of the rupture were rendered permanent, and incapable of modification, by being committed to writing, disapproved the draught, and proposed another in more soft and gentle terms.

Resentment of  
the king.

“ The king hath commanded me to acquaint your royal highness, that his majesty is most heartily rejoiced at the safe delivery of the princess, but that, on account of certain circumstances in your royal highness's behaviour relating to that

Period VI.

1734 to 1737.

event, which have given his majesty just offence, he thinks it not proper to see you, with the particular reasons whereof he will cause your royal highness to be acquainted in due time."

Lord Wilmington, who seldom declared himself explicitly on any subject, supported, however, with unusual warmth, the original draught; and as lord Harrington was silent, the chancellor's alteration was rejected, and the original carried. On the 3d of August, it was sent to the prince by lord Effex, the lord of the bedchamber in waiting, and contained these words:

His message.

"The king has commanded me to acquaint your royal highness, that his majesty most heartily rejoices at the safe delivery of the princess, but that your carrying away her royal highness from Hampton Court, the then residence of the king, the queen, and the family, under the pains, and certain indications of immediate labour, to the imminent danger and hazard both of the princess and her child, after sufficient warnings for a week before, to have made the necessary preparations for this happy event, without acquainting his majesty or the queen with the circumstances the princess was in, or giving them the least notice of your departure, is looked upon by the king to be such a deliberate indignity, offered to himself and to the queen, that he has commanded me to acquaint your royal highness, that he resents it to the highest degree."

In reply to this message, the prince wrote a letter, in which, after expressing his mortification



at having displeased the king, he justified his conduct, repeated the same motives as he had stated to the queen in person, and requested permission to wait upon the king the next morning.

Chapter 48.

1737.

This request having been rejected, the prince repeated, in another submissive letter, his earnest hopes of being restored to favour. No answer was returned to this application, but a message from the king was conveyed by the earl of Dunmore, appointing the baptism to be performed on the 29th, declaring, that he should send the lord chancellor to stand god-father as his proxy, the queen's lady of the bedchamber for the queen, and desiring the princess to appoint one of her ladies of the bedchamber to represent the dowager duchess of Saxe Gotha, the other god-mother.

August 4.

The prince took this opportunity to reiterate, both to the king and queen, his application for pardon, with increasing earnestness and humility. His entreaties, however, had no effect. The king adopted the violent resolution of making a total separation between his family and that of the prince, by dismissing him from his residence in the palace of St. James's. In taking this resolution, he was, if not confirmed, at least not opposed by the minister.

The prudence and moderation of the chancellor saw the danger of such a separation. However disagreeable his interposition might be, both to the king and Walpole, he thought it his duty to prevent, if possible, such extremities. With this

Conference between the chancellor and Walpole.

Period VI.  
1734 to 1737.

view, he went over to New Park, and had a long and interesting conference with Sir Robert Walpole.\*

“ He laid it down as a principle, that in this nice affair, two great points were always to be pursued. First, the real and essential interest of the king and his family, in which the whole of the kingdom was involved; and next, the support of that authority and reverence, which was due to his majesty. That it was the duty of his ministers and servants to endeavour to combine both these views, and in their conduct not to lose sight of either. That he could not help thinking, that if there was a disposition to it, a reconciliation might be effected consistently with both; but if that should be found impossible, a total separation must indeed be submitted to. However, he begged leave to lay before him several considerations, which seemed material in this great question, some whereof distinguished the case from that of the quarrel in the late reign, and made the present breach more formidable.

“ 1. That it ought to be considered what influence it would have on the side of the question, which had been once moved in parliament, and was expected to be brought there again, viz. the prince’s demand of a larger allowance, and this upon different suppositions. It appeared to him, that if the king should be finally in the right, and the prince continue, as he was certainly at first,

\* This conference is given verbatim, from lord Hardwicke’s interesting narrative before mentioned.

first, on the affair of the departure, in the wrong, it would strengthen the king as to that question; for nobody could, with any shadow of reason, maintain that the king could with decency be addressed to increase his son's allowance, while he was standing out in defiance. But on the other hand, it must be attended to, that this offence was such as to admit of a satisfaction between a father and a son; and if the world should think the prince had made a proper submission, and yet the king turn him out of doors, it would strengthen the prince in his demand; since it might then be said, that the king had causelessly obliged him to live by himself, with an increase of family, at a great expence. He added, that it must be expected that even those who least wished a reconciliation, would advise him to make such a submission, when they were sure it could not, or would not, be accepted.

“ 2. That in the next place, the situation and circumstances of the royal family deserved the greatest attention. In the late reign, the difference concerned only the king and prince; there were no other children to be affected by it. The moment the breath was out of the late king's body, it was at an end as to the royal family, though particular subjects might feel its effects. That now the case was far different. A queen consort, the duke and four princesses, not to include the princess of Orange, must necessarily be, to a degree, involved in it. If the prince should survive his father, he must, and by the course of  
law



**Period VI.** 1734 to 1737. law and nature, ought to reign. All these will be more or less in his power. The queen possibly least of all is; but how far the honey-moon of a new reign may carry men as to her large jointure, no one can foresee. The others absolutely. Yet these must now, as they justly deserve, live at court in the sun-shine of the king and queen's favour, the prince being excluded. This will naturally breed an alienation of affection, great envying and much ill blood, which may break out into fatal consequences when the prince shall find himself their sovereign. Add to this, that it is not probable that any settlement will ever be obtained from the parliament to make cadets of the royal family, independant of any person who shall wear the crown.

“ 3. He next considered the case of the prince's children. Either the king must take the custody of them, or leave them with his royal highness, If he should take them, having a favourite younger son, and several daughters, justly dear to him, what jealousies and suspicions may not arise in case of accidents. Malice may even suggest what was once believed in France, of the late duke of Orleans. If the king should suffer these branches of the royal family to remain with the prince, will it not greatly weaken the former, and strengthen the latter? And at length, they will be bred up under the same influence which is now objected to their father.

“ 4. As to the administration, what an inundation of pensions did the breach in the late reign produce!

produce! What a weight did that bring on my lord Sunderland's ministry! And it should be considered whether even that miserable expedient will be found practicable under this king. The present demands of mankind will rise on one side in proportion as greater hopes are held out on the other. It put lord Sunderland on strong measures to secure himself, which yet he could not carry. Witness the peerage bill, wherein were several provisions tempting to the Whigs, and yet they rejected it.

" 5. It will make a coalition between the Whigs desperate and impossible. Before this, the Whigs in opposition wanted a head, became liable to the disagreeable imputation of constantly acting with the Jacobites; had no prospect of ever coming into any share of power, but by reuniting with their old friends. They will now find a head in the prince, and he, being the immediate successor in the protestant line, will be an irrefragable answer to the reproach of Jacobitism. Besides, the Whigs, as a party, will, in good policy, not wish such a coalition, unless it could be accompanied with a reconciliation between the father and son, lest it should throw the successor wholly into the hands of the Tories, and make their cause desperate when he comes to take possession; whereas, by having one set of Whigs in the prince's favour, the party will have a fair chance to be preserved from ruin when that event shall arrive.

" 6. Lastly,

Period VI.

1734 to 1737.

“ 6. Lastly, it must not be forgot, that if the king should carry his resentment so far as to remove his son out of his palace, it will be necessary that some account of a transaction of this high nature in the royal family, should be given to foreign courts. This measure was taken in the late reign. If the prince should at length fully submit himself to his father, and do that which the world shall judge a complete satisfaction for the late offence, what reasons can openly be assigned to justify such a conduct? He would not say that reasons might not be suggested, from a series of conduct offensive and provoking in many other respects; but when once those come to be coolly examined, he suspected whether they would be found such, as it would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, publicly to avow and explain.”

“ The minister allowed all these to be considerations of great weight, without attempting to take off their force, except as to that of the prince's children, who, he said, were intended to be left with their parents, whilst of tender age, only for nurture. The great point on which he laid his stress, was that the king had now an advantage, by the prince having put himself so much in the wrong, which ought not to be parted with. That he was apprehensive there must be a total breach before there could be a complete reconciliation; and to make up the particular difference about carrying away the princess from Hampton Court, without the grand point, would  
not



not be so much as skinning over the sore, which would infallibly break out again worse than ever. That it was impossible to reconcile the whole without money, and that could not now be obtained; neither was it fit to advise the king to make such an advance, until his son, by proper acts of submission, and declared alteration of conduct, should put himself in a condition to deserve it.

“As to the submission already made, he enlarged much on the offensive behaviour to the queen; and in particular, objected that, although the king in his message had charged the *fact to be a high indignity to himself and to the queen*, the prince had not in any of his letters asked her pardon, or so much as made an excuse to her majesty for what he had done.”

“Hereupon, the chancellor took occasion to observe, that this was manifestly the game of those advisers of the prince, who intended to prevent a reconciliation; and as this last was their point, they could not play their cards better. That consequently the most effectual method of disappointing it must be the best play on the other side: and as the queen had great talents, as well as great power with the king, would not it become her wisdom to suppress the woman's resentment, and take the contrary part to that into which these men wished to drive her? That in his opinion, if her majesty continued unmoved by their ill usage, and in spite of all their provocations would reconcile the father and son, she would endear herself to the nation more than ever,

Period VI.  
1734 to 1737.

ever, and make an absolute conquest of all her enemies at once."

These sensible representations not only had no effect on the minister, but even seem to have made a contrary impression; for he said afterwards to some of his friends, "The lord chancellor made me a long visit, and talked like an angel on the subject of the prince, yet I thought his arguments made for my conclusion rather than his," which induced the chancellor to lament the shortness of human foresight, and exclaim, in the words of Virgil,

"Nescia mens hominum sati, fortisque futuræ,

"Et servare modum rebus sublata secundis.

"Turno tempus erit, magno cum optaverit emptum,

"Intactum Pallanta et cum spolia ista diemque.

"Oderit." \*

Conduct of  
Walpole.

Although it cannot be denied that the conduct of the prince had given great and deserved offence to the king and queen, and that in particular his behaviour to the queen had been highly disrespectful, yet it cannot at the same time be sufficiently lamented, that the minister involved in the interests of party, the feuds of the royal family. He considered the struggle as much between himself and opposition, as between the king and

\* "O mortals! blind in fate, who never know

"To bear high fortune, or endure the low!

"The time shall come, when Turnus, but in vain,

"Shall wish untouch'd the trophies of the slain,

"Shall wish the fatal belt were far away,

"And curse the dire remembrance of the day."

DRYDEN'S VIRGIL.

and prince, and knowing the prince's aversion to his ministry, viewed a cordial reconciliation as tending to his removal.

Under these impressions he had drawn up, by order of the king, the substance of a message to be delivered to the prince, ordering him to remove from the palace of St. James; and he communicated it confidentially to the lord chancellor, the duke of Newcastle, and Pelham, for their opinion, before it should be submitted to the whole council. He produced two letters, sent by the prince to the king and queen after the christening; and acquainted them, that the king was not satisfied with the submission made by his son. He added, with regard to the king himself, they were mere words, and calculated to be offensive and provoking to the queen. None of the letters contained any assurance of a change of conduct, or of acting in subordination to his father's will for the future. The prince was entirely under the influence and direction of persons whom the king had thought fit to remove from his councils and service, and who were in a determined opposition to all his measures; and lord Chesterfield and lord Carteret were known to be with him in private every day, and were called into his closet after the levee, as regularly as the king's ministers were called into his. He recapitulated many particulars, to shew that the prince had avowedly set himself at the head of a faction in opposition to the king, and that these letters were understood by the king to proceed from their dictates, and intended

Farther proceedings in the cabinet.

September 5.



Period VI.  
1734 to 1737.

intended only to amuse and deceive him. That things being in this situation, the king had resolved not to permit his son to reside any longer in his palace, but to send an order for his departure, with his whole family, as soon as it could be done without prejudice or inconvenience to the princess, and had commanded him to prepare a draught of a message for that purpose, which he then read.

The chancellor and his friends having expressed their concern, and delivered their opinion, that such a message should be avoided if possible, consistently with the king's honour; the minister replied, that such was the king's final resolution. It was then proposed, that a message should be sent to the prince, acquainting him with the kind of submission which was required of him, and the alterations in his conduct, which the king expected as the terms of the reconciliation. But the proposal was rejected by Sir Robert Walpole, as likely to beget mutual altercations, and produce a paper war between the king and his son, which would be attended with still more fatal consequences than taking it *short at first*. \*

The draught of the message was then taken into consideration. It was couched in very harsh and improper terms, and contained indecorous reflections, inconsistent with the dignity of the crown, and the station of the disputants. A paragraph towards the conclusion, expressed a severe reproach on *persons in general* resorting to the prince, who

\* Lord Hardwicke's Narrative.

who did not pay their court to the king, but opposed his measures, called them a **FACTION**, with other strong and harsh words. To all these, the chancellor objected, as a style improper between princes, and indecent from the king to his son. He thought, if a message of this nature must go, it should be strong, but full of decorum. Sir Robert Walpole declared his opinion, that, as the prince had plainly set himself at the head of the opposition, it was right to carry the war into the enemy's country; and as they attacked the king through the sides of his ministers, to return it by falling on the prince's advisers. To this the chancellor replied, that, as to such advisers as fomented this fatal division in the royal family, the harshest words which language could furnish were not too much; but his objection was, that, as the draught then stood, it comprised more, and might extend to all that came to the prince, who happened to differ from the king's ministers in parliament, and did not come to court. That this would include some persons of the first quality and estates in the kingdom, besides great numbers of others who were only misguided; and as it was probable this paper might one time or other be laid before the parliament, it might give rise to very disagreeable debates and questions there. The duke of Newcastle and Mr. Pelham acceded to his opinion; whereupon most of those expressions and epithets were at length struck out, and that remarkable paragraph entirely changed and confined to the *advisers* of the prince, who

Period VI. *fomented the division in the royal family, and thereby*  
 1734 to 1737. *weakened the common interest of the whole.*

On the 9th of September, this message was laid before the lords of the cabinet council who were not absent from London. \*

Sir Robert Walpole acquainted them with the several causes of the king's displeasure against the prince; he said, for these reasons the king was of opinion that the families should be separated, and desired their advice on the method of doing it; he had, by the king's order, and with his approbation, prepared the draught of a message to the prince, which he should now submit to their consideration. He at the same time intimated, that the king thought the style of the draught *full gentle* enough. He then read the letters which had passed between the prince on one hand, and the king and queen on the other; and directed them to observe the difference between the narrative of the fact contained in the first letter to the king, and the accounts which he gave to the queen, as well as to lord Harrington and himself, the morning after the labour, which last he read from some minutes to which lord Harrington had agreed. He observed, with great emphasis, that these letters were specious empty words, without any

\* Present. Archbishop of Canterbury (Potter)—Lord chancellor—Lord Godolphin (lord privy seal)—Duke of Grafton. (lord chamberlain)—Duke of Richmond (master of the horse)—Duke of Newcastle—Earl of Pembroke (groom of the stole)—Earl of Ilay—Lord Harrington—Sir Robert Walpole—Sir Charles Wager.

Absent. Lord President (in Sussex)—Earl of Scarbro' (in Yorkshire, and not sufficiently recovered to attend business)—Duke of Devonshire (in Ireland)—Duke of Dorset (at Namur)—Duke of Argyle (in Oxfordshire.)



any assurances or alteration of conduct, and laid great stress on the variations between the letters to the king, and those to the queen, and particularly requested them to remark, that in the letter to the queen, the words, *your majesty*, were never used, but only *madame* and *vous*. He then read the draught of the message.

The lords sufficiently testified their concern, by their looks and expressions. They understood this to be a communication of the king's determined resolution, which was not to be changed. They agreed that he was undoubtedly master in his own family, and as he had been highly offended, he was to judge whether he would forgive or resent. They considered that their advice was only required as to the *method*, not the *measure*, and therefore proceeded to take the draught into consideration. A few exceptions were made to the terms. Two were made by the lord chancellor, the first to the words, *I cannot suffer myself to be imposed upon by them*, as too harsh, and not adequate to the dignity of the personages concerned, he proposed to insert, *I cannot, consistently with my own honour and authority, suffer them to have any weight with me*. But this alteration was not adopted. The second objection was to the word *rendezvous*, as too low and coarse; and as all the lords concurred in the same opinion, it was omitted, and the word *resort* suffered to stand alone. In the place of, *you shall not reside in my palace*, inserted at the proposal of the archbishop, lord Godolphin offered, *I think it not fit that you should*

Period VI. *reside in my palace*; an alteration which was approved by the chancellor, as expressive of the king's opinion, and properly introductory of the subsequent command to leave St. James's. This was rejected on the observation of Sir Robert Walpole, that those words could not be considered as sufficiently strong.

After making a few other verbal alterations of little consequence, the message was agreed to, and submitted to the final approbation of the king. \*

The manner of sending it to the prince was proposed to be by a message signed by the king at the top, with his name at length, and with the two first letters at the bottom, after the form of instructions; and that an order, signed by his majesty, should be delivered to the persons who should be charged with carrying it, reciting the message in the very words, and commanding them to read it to, and leave it with his royal highness. It was also agreed, that copies of this message should be privately delivered to the several foreign ministers in England, and other copies sent to the king's ministers residing abroad, as a *species facti*, or narrative of the king's reasons for this proceeding with his son.

Other particulars were mentioned, and it seemed to be the general sense of the lords that they should be regulated in like manner as upon the *separation* in the late reign; but it was thought proper to leave them to the personal direction of the

\* Narrative.

the king himself, without offering any particular advice thereupon. On Saturday, September 10th, this message, signed as before mentioned, was sent to the prince by the duke of Grafton, Duke of Richmond, and earl of Pembroke, who had a signed order, as above described, for their justification.

“ The professions you have lately made in your letters, of your particular regard to me, are so contradictory to all your actions, that I cannot suffer myself to be imposed upon by them. You know very well, you did not give the least intimation to me, or to the queen, that the princess was with child, or breeding, until within less than a month of the birth of the young princess : you removed the princess twice in the week immediately preceding the day of her delivery, from the place of my residence, in expectation, as you have voluntarily declared, of her labour ; and both times, upon your return, you industriously concealed from the knowledge of me and the queen, every circumstance relating to this important affair : and you at last, without giving any notice to me, or to the queen, precipitately hurried the princess from Hampton Court, in a condition not to be named. After having thus, in execution of your own determined measures, exposed both the princess and her child to the greatest perils, you now plead surprise, and tenderness for the princess, as the only motives that occasioned these repeated indignities offered to me, and to the queen your mother.

The prince ordered to quit St. James's.



Period VI.

1734 to 1737.

“ This extravagant and undutiful behaviour, in so essential a point as the birth of an heir to my crown, is such an evidence of your premeditated defiance of me, and such a contempt of my authority, and of the natural right belonging to your parents, as cannot be excused by the pretended innocence of your intentions, nor palliated or disguised by specious words only.

“ But the whole tenor of your conduct, for a considerable time, has been so entirely void of all real duty to me, that I have long had reason to be highly offended with you.

“ And until you withdraw your regard and confidence from those by whose advice you are directed and encouraged in your unwarrantable behaviour to me and to the queen, and until you return to your duty, you shall not reside in my palace, which I will not suffer to be made the resort of them, who, under the appearance of an attachment to you, foment the division which you have made in my family, and thereby weaken the common interest of the whole. In this situation I will receive no reply; but when your actions manifest a just sense of your duty and submission, *that* may induce me to pardon, what at present I most justly resent.

“ In the mean time, it is my pleasure that you leave St. James's, with all your family, when it can be done without prejudice or inconvenience to the princess. I shall for the present leave to the princess the care of my grand-daughter, until

a proper

a proper time calls upon me to consider of her education.”

Chapter 48.

1737.

All farther application from the prince being ineffectual, he retired from the palace, to Norfolk House, in St. James's Square, where he took up his residence, and his house became the centre, of political opposition. The king accordingly Feb. 27, 1738. issued an order, forbidding all persons who paid, their court to the prince and princess of Wales, from being admitted into his presence at any of the royal palaces.

All the correspondence which passed between the king, queen, and the prince, on this unfortunate occasion, was published, by authority of the court, and distributed to each of the foreign ministers in England, and to the British ambassadors abroad.

As the message delivered on the 10th of September, contained many reflections, on the prince, Anger of the prince. which no man of honour could forgive, \* the measure tended still farther to irritate him, and to supply an excuse for his resentment to the king, and his detestation of the minister, who incurred the principal blame in this whole transaction, and was accused of fomenting the misunderstanding, to serve his own sinister purposes. The prince gave credit to these imputations. Walpole was held out as the man who having so often, nay, so constantly sacrificed the national interest to his avarice, his ambition, and his fears, had now sacrificed

\* Opinions of the duchess of Marlborough.

Period VI. 1734 to 1737. sacrificed to his passions the peace of his master's family, and taken that opportunity to make him declare a proscription to all those who opposed the minister.\*

Review of  
Walpole's  
conduct.

In reviewing the conduct of Walpole in this delicate transaction, he cannot be wholly exempted from blame; nor is it easy to ascertain in what degree he was culpable. He had, on former occasions, earnestly laboured to reconcile the father and son, and had infused into the king a spirit of moderation and forbearance. This case was attended with peculiar difficulties, which can never be fully appreciated. Lord chancellor Hardwicke himself says, "Sir Robert Walpole informed me of certain passages between the king and himself, and between the queen and the prince, of too high and secret a nature, even to be trusted to this narrative; but from thence, I found great reason to think that this unhappy difference between the king and queen, and his royal highness, turned upon some points of a more interesting and important nature, than have hitherto appeared." †

It is, however, justly remarked by the same candid observer, that those who attempted to reconcile the breach, were not listened to on either side. On the part of the prince, those who wanted to set him at their head, against his father's measures, seemed to have it in view to write  
such

\* Lord Bolingbroke to Sir William Wyndham. Correspondence.

† Lord Hardwicke's Narrative.



such letters to the king as might read well when published to the world, be taken for a submission, and at the same time effectually prevent that from being accepted, by provoking the queen, and thereby cut off the chance of mediation, and shut the only door through which any reconciliation could enter. On the other side, Sir Robert Walpole seemed to think, that they had now an advantage over the prince which ought not to be parted with, and that it would be better for the administration to have a total and declared separation, than that things should remain in the precarious state in which they then stood. \*

In the course of this unfortunate transaction, the prince gave signs of high spirit and extreme sensibility; a striking instance of which is recorded by lord chancellor Harkwicke, which I shall relate in his own words. † “ On the fourth of August, the day of proroguing the parliament, I went to St. James’s in my way to Westminster, in order to enquire after the health of the princess of Wales, and the new-born princess. After I had performed that ceremony, I went away, and was overtaken at the further end of Pall-mall, by one of the prince’s footmen, with a message that his royal highness desired to speak with me.

“ Being returned, I was carried into the nursery, whither the prince came immediately out of the princess’s bedchamber, and turned all the women out of the room. Having said many civil things, and made me sit down, he shewed me

\* Lord Hardwicke’s Narrative.

† Ibid.

a message

Period VI.  
1734 to 1737.

a message which he had received the day before from the king, which he said, he presumed I, being one of the cabinet, must have seen before. Without staying for an answer, he made a long apology for his conduct, much to the effect of his first letter to the king, with this addition, that if the king, who was apt sometimes to be pretty quick, should have objected to her going to London, and an altercation should have arisen, what a condition would the poor princess have been in? He then said, he would read me two letters he had written, the one to the king, and the other to the queen; whereupon I asked him whether they had been sent, for if they had not, I was determined in my own mind not to have seen or heard them read. He answered, they were sent the day before by my lord Jersey, and then read them. He asked me what I thought of them? at which I bowed, and said nothing. He went on, that upon those letters the king sent word he would not see him; but he did not think fit to let it rest there on his part, and had sent another letter by lord Carnarvon that morning, which he read, and asked me, if it was not very respectful; to this I answered, *very respectful*; and indeed, it was a much more proper letter than the former.

“ I then proceeded to tell his royal highness, that I had heard nothing of this unhappy affair, till my going to Hampton Court on the Tuesday before, to congratulate the king and queen on the birth of their grand-daughter. That I then found

found their majesties highly offended with what had passed, and I should be unjust to his royal highness, if I concealed from him, that, from the circumstances preceding and accompanying the carrying away the princess, they understood it to proceed from a deliberate intention to take that part without their privity. I added, that incidents of this nature gave the deepest concern and affliction to every one who wished well to the whole royal family, and to none more than myself. That every occasion of that kind ought to be removed; for that *union* in the royal family was most essential to the true interest and preservation of it. That the contrary gave the most formidable advantages to their enemies; whereas nothing could hurt any branch of it when united. That I hoped his royal highness would show such a submission and dutiful behaviour to the king his father in the present juncture, as would tend to bring about this union, and that I was sure it would be the zealous endeavour of the king's servants, and in particular of myself, to do every thing that might facilitate it.

“ He answered, my lord, *I don't doubt you in the least, for I believe you to be a very honest man*; and as I was rising up, embraced me, offering to kiss me: I instantly kneeled down, and kissed his hand, whereupon he raised me up and kissed my cheek. The scene had something in it moving; and my heart was full of the melancholy prospect that I thought lay before me, which made me almost burst into tears. The prince observed this,  
and



Period VI. and appeared moved himself, and said, *let us sit*  
 1734 to 1737. *down, my lord, a little, and recollect ourselves, that*  
*we may not go out thus.* Soon after which, I took  
 my leave, and went directly to the house of lords."

## CHAPTER THE FORTY-NINTH:

1737.

*Illness—Fortitude—and Death of Queen Caroline.—Virtues.—Grief of*  
*the King.—Affliction of Sir Robert Walpole.*

Illness of the  
 queen.

I SHALL close the transactions of the year 1737, with the illness and death of queen Caroline, an event highly disastrous to the country, to the king, and to Sir Robert Walpole. This illustrious and amiable woman, had been for some time in a declining state of health. The disorder under which she had laboured, and which occasioned her death, was a rupture, which, from motives of delicacy, she had communicated only to the mistress of the robes, her favourite lady Sundon: she was even so imprudent as to conceal the cause of her illness from the medical men who were called in to her relief. This false delicacy, which was incompatible with her usual magnanimity, was the cause of her death. For the medicines which were administered, and the methods taken, were diametrically opposite to those which would have been adopted, had her disorder been known. Judging from the symptoms, and from her own declarations, the physicians treated it as the gout  
 in

in her stomach, and administered strong cordials, which aggravated the malady. When the danger became so imminent as to render the concealment impossible, it was too late. She submitted in vain to the most painful operations, and the surgeon who performed them declared, that if he had been acquainted with her real situation two days sooner, her speedy recovery would have been the consequence.\*

Although racked with extreme agony, almost without intermission, during twelve days and nights, she bore her sufferings not only with patience and resignation, but almost without a groan, maintaining, to the moment of her dissolution, serenity, temper, dignity, greatness of soul, and an unaffected submission to the ways of Providence. In all this melancholy scene, she behaved with such invariable courtesy to every one about her, that one of the physicians observed, he had never met with a similar instance in the whole course of his practice. She repeatedly expressed to her attendants, her grateful sense of their laborious watchings, and distinguished each of them with appropriate marks of regard.

She recommended her servants, in the most affecting and solemn manner, to the king's favour and protection; extended her concern to the lowest of them, and was equally warm in her solicitude for their welfare; recounting to him the faithfulness of their respective services.

This

\* Letter from Charles Ford to Swift, November 23, 1737. Swift's Works.

**Period VI.** **1734 to 1737.** This firmness and resignation were not the effect of insensibility or stoical indifference, but derived from the strongest exertions of reason and religion. On the second day of her illness, she was observed to shed some tears, occasioned either by the lowness of her spirits, the anguish of her sufferings, or by tenderness for the despair of her family; she soon, however, recovered from this debility, and resumed her accustomed fortitude. Apprehensive that during a painful operation, she had so far forgotten herself as to use peevish expressions, she reproached herself with having shewn an unbecoming impatience.

She frequently declared that she had made it the business of her life to discharge her religious and social duties; she hoped God would pardon her infirmities, and accept the sincerity of her endeavours, which were always intended to promote the king's honour, and the prosperity of the nation. She declared that she was a hearty well-wisher to the liberties of the people; and that if she had erred in any part of her public conduct, it arose from want of judgment, not from intention.

**Death.**

A little before she died, she said to the physician, "How long can this last?" and on his answering, "Your majesty will soon be eased of your pains;" she replied, "The sooner the better." She then repeated a prayer of her own composing, in which there was such a flow of natural eloquence, as demonstrated the vigour of a great and good mind. When her speech began to  
falter,



faulter, and she seemed expiring, she desired to be raised up in her bed, and fearing that nature would not hold out long enough without artificial supports, she called to have water sprinkled on her, and a little after desired it might be repeated. She then, with the greatest composure and presence of mind, requested her weeping relations to “kneel down and pray for her.” Whilst they were reading some prayers, she exclaimed, “pray aloud, that I may hear;” and after the Lord’s prayer was concluded, in which she joined as well as she could, she said, “So,” and waving her hand, lay down and expired. \*

November 20.

Having already discussed the character of the queen, I shall only add a few traits to the preceding sketch. † She was blessed with a natural serenity and calmness of mind, and often expressed her thankfulness to God, that he had given her a temper which was not easily ruffled, and which enabled her to support every difficulty. It was truly said of her, that the same softness of behaviour and command of herself, that appeared in the drawing room, went along with her into her private apartments, gladdened every body that was about her person, accompanied her as well in the gay and cheerful seasons of life, as under the most trying circumstances, and did not fail her even in the hour of death itself.

One part of her conduct, which reflects the  
highest

\* The principal circumstances of her death, are extracted from Dr. Alured Clark’s Essay towards the Character of Queen Caroline.

† Chapter 31.

Period VI.  
1734 to 1737.

highest honour on her memory, was her maternal attention to her children, and particularly to her daughters. She superintended their education, directed their behaviour, formed their manners, and tempered her reproofs with a mixture of proper severity and kindness, which rendered her equally beloved and respected.

Aspersions  
examined.

The enemies of queen Caroline, have represented her as being of an unforgiving temper, and even reproached her with a want of maternal affection. It was maliciously suggested, that she fomented the misunderstanding between the king and the prince of Wales; but on the contrary, she exerted her utmost influence to abate the petulance of the son, and the irritability of the father. Once in particular, when an action of the prince had been represented to the king with malicious aggravation, the queen defended her son, and good naturedly observed, "Ce n'est qu'une indiscretion de page." 'Tis nothing but a youthful frolic.\* The tongue of slander has even reproached her with maintaining her implacability to the hour of death, and refusing her pardon to the prince, who had humbly requested to receive her blessing. To this imputation, Chesterfield alludes in a copy of verses, circulated at the time:

"And unforgiving, unforgiven dies."

Pope also has consigned to posterity this aspersion, in terms of malignant irony:

"Or

\* From lord Orford.

" Or teach the melancholy muse to mourn,  
 Hang the sad verse on CAROLINA'S urn,  
 And hail her passage to the realms of rest,  
 All parts perform'd, and ALL her children blest.\*

I am happy to have it in my power to remove this stigma from the memory of this great princess. She sent her blessing and a message of forgiveness to her son, and told Sir Robert Walpole, that she would have seen him with pleasure, but prudence forbade the interview, as it might embarrass and irritate the king. †

" Her charities were limited only by her re-Liberality. venue; though she avoided all appearance of ostentation so much, that many persons who subsisted by her bounty, were wholly ignorant of their benefactress; and she was so liberal that her public and private gifts, with the occasional sums expended on the same account, amounted to near a fifth part of her whole income." ‡

Her

\* See Epilogue to the Satires, Dialogue 1, l. 79. The satirist, with a duplicity not unusual to him, has affected in a note to repair the insult offered to her memory, by observing, that her last moments manifested the utmost courage and resolution. It is, however, justly observed by Dr. Warton, on this passage, that, " no subtle commentary can torture these words to mean any thing but the most poignant sarcasm on the behaviour of this great personage to her son on her death-bed:" and adds, that " about the same time, Pope wrote a couplet on the same subject:"

" Here lies, wrapt up in forty thousand towels,  
 The only proof that Caroline had bowels."

The evidence that Pope was the author of this infamous quibble, which is generally attributed to Chesterfield, is not given by Dr. Warton. Lord Mansfield had it from Pope himself, told it to lord Orford, from whom I received it, with a variation of " seven-and-twenty," instead of " forty thousand towels."

† From lord Orford.

‡ Character of Queen Caroline, p. 12.



Period VI.

1734 to 1737.

Her disposition was so humane and benevolent, that the unfortunate in all situations and religions were secure of her protection. She paid a particular attention to those Roman Catholics, whose zeal in favour of the Pretender had exposed them to the rigour of the laws. Several Popish and Jacobite ladies, and particularly the duchess of Norfolk, were admitted to private conferences. Their representations procured liberal supplies of money to many of the most indigent. In some instances, she even carried her protection to an impolitic extreme, and in a manner which distressed Sir Robert Walpole. Archibald earl of Hly, who principally managed the affairs of Scotland, having been reproached for permitting so large a number of Jacobite meeting-houses in Edinburgh, and in other parts of the kingdom, in open defiance of the laws; acknowledged the fact, and exculpated himself, by declaring that he had laid a scheme for suppressing them before the minister, who discouraged his attempt, by observing, their friends had a ready access to the queen by the back stairs, and all his efforts would be defeated. \*

Patronage of  
learning.

A conspicuous part in the character of queen Caroline, was her great patronage of learned men. The protection she afforded to the first luminaries of the church has been slightly mentioned. She distinguished Clarke, Hoadly, Butler, Sherlock, Secker, and Pearce, with peculiar marks of regard.

\* Enough, imparted by Archibald duke of Argyle.

gard. The gracious manner in which she listened to recommendations of literary eminence, is well displayed in an anecdote relating to the celebrated author of "The Analogy between Natural and Revealed Religion." Secker\*, while he was king's chaplain, mentioned, in conversation with the queen, Butler, who was then rector of Stanhope. The queen said, she thought he was dead, and making enquiries of archbishop Blackburne, if he was not dead, his answer was, "no madam, but he is buried." Soon afterwards, without solicitation, she appointed him clerk of her closet, and he used to attend her every day, from seven to nine, in the afternoon. She also caused his name to be inserted on the list for a vacant bishopric.

Obscurity, disgrace, and banishment, were no obstacles to her bounty and protection. She conferred benefactions on Stephen Duck, who from a common labourer, had raised himself into notice as a poet. She obtained the pardon of Savage, who was condemned to death for having committed a murder in a drunken fray, in spite of the opposition of his unnatural mother, and supported him with an annual pension. † She shewed her

\* Life of Secker.

† "When Savage was disappointed in his application for the place of poet laureat, which was given to Colley Cibber, he applied, in the bitterness of distress, boldly to the queen, that having once given him life, she would enable him to support it; and therefore published a short poem on her birth-day, to which he annexed the odd title of volunteer-laureat. Not having a friend at court who would get him introduced, or present him, he published the poem, which was not ill calculated to strike the queen. The queen sent for the verses, and in a few days after the publication, Savage received a bank bill of fifty pounds,

Period VI.  
1734 to 1737

her esteem for the memory of Milton, by conferring a present on his grand-daughter. She obtained the recal of lord Lansdowne, and of Carte, the nonjuring historian, who had both been obliged to abscond for suspected principles. \*

Grief of the  
king.

Words cannot sufficiently express the sensibility  
and

pounds, and a gracious message by lord North and Grey: That her majesty was highly pleased with the verses; that she took particularly kind his lines relating to the king; that he had permission to write annually on the same subject; and that he should yearly receive the like present, till something better (which was her majesty's intention) could be done for him. After this, he was permitted to present one of his annual poems to the queen, had the honour of kissing her hand, and met with the most gracious reception." Johnson's Life of Savage.

From these now-forgotten poems, may I be permitted to quote one passage which alludes to the beneficial consequences of the pacific system, planned by Sir Robert Walpole, and supported by queen Caroline.

" Here cease my plaint—See yon enlivening scenes!

Child of the spring! Behold the best of queens!

Softness and beauty rose this heavenly morn,

Dawn'd wisdom, and benevolence was born,

Joy o'er a people, in her influence rose;

Like that which spring o'er rural nature throws.

War to the peaceful pipe resigns his roar,

And breaks his billows on some distant shore.

Domestic discord sinks beneath her smile,

And arts, and trade, and plenty glad the isle,

Lo! Industry surveys, with feasted eyes,

His due reward, a plenteous harvest rise!

Nor (taught by Commerce) joys in that alone,

But sees the harvest of a world his own.

Hence thy just praise, thou mild, majestic Thames!

Rich river, richer than Pactolus' streams!

Than those renown'd of yore, by poets roll'd

O'er intermingled pearls, and sands of gold.

How glorious thou, when from old Ocean's urn,

Loaded with India's wealth, thy waves return!

Alive thy banks! along each bordering line,

High cultur'd blooms, inviting villas shine:

And while around ten thousand beauties glow,

These still o'er those redoubling lustre throw."



and affection of George the Second during her illness, and his regret for her loss. He watched by her bed-side with unabated attention, and could scarcely be prevailed on to take any rest, till she expired.

Chapter 48.

1737.

As soon as the first emotions of grief had subsided, he loved to talk of his departed queen, recounted her virtues, and considered how she would have acted on occasions of difficulty. He continued the salaries of all the officers and nominal servants who were not taken into his own household, and commanded a list of her numerous benefactions to be laid before him; saying it was his intention, that nobody should be a sufferer besides himself. \*

On her death bed, the queen testified her approbation of Sir Robert Walpole's measures, and the high opinion she entertained of his capacity and rectitude. Turning to the minister, who with the king was standing by her bed-side, she said to him, "I hope you will never desert the king, but continue to serve him with your usual fidelity;" and pointing to the king, she added, "I recommend his majesty to you." The king said nothing, and the minister was alarmed, lest this mode of making him of more consequence than the king, might awaken jealousy, and be the cause of his disgrace. † But these apprehensions were unfounded.

The queen  
recommends  
Walpole.

The king was so affected with the queen's death,

\* Character of Queen Caroline, p. 41.

† From lord Orford.

Period VI. death, that for a long time after that melancholy  
 1734 to 1737 event, he could not see Sir Robert Walpole with-  
 out bursting into tears. About a fortnight after-  
 wards, the king shewed him an intercepted letter,  
 in which it was observed, that as the queen was  
 dead, the minister would lose his sole protector.  
 “It is false,” said he, good naturedly, “you re-  
 member that on her death-bed the queen recom-  
 mended *me* to you.”

Affecting  
 anecdote.

Horace Walpole has recorded a striking in-  
 stance of the king's violent grief for the death of his  
 queen, and affection to her memory, which I will  
 relate in his own words. “Mr. Walpole can never  
 be able to forget a melancholy epoch, when,  
 about ten days after his arrival from Holland,  
 upon the queen's death, his majesty found him  
 with the princesses, in their apartment, and their  
 royal highnesses immediately retiring, the king,  
 with a flood of tears gushing from his eyes, which  
 drew an equal torrent from those of his faithful  
 subject then present, with agonies and sobs, gave  
 a confidential detail to Mr. Walpole, of the  
 inimitable virtues of his royal consort, that was  
 now no more, and particularly with respect to the  
 great relief and assistance which he found in her  
 noble and calm disposition and sentiments, in  
 governing such an humourfome and inconstant  
 people; that her presence of mind often sup-  
 ported him in trying times, and the sweetness of  
 her temper and prudence would moderate and  
 assuage his own vivacity and resentment; that  
 incidents of state of a rough, difficult, and disa-  
 greable

greeable nature, would by her previous conferences and concert with that able minister, Sir Robert Walpole, be made smooth, easy, and palatable to him, but that he must now lead a helpless, disconsolate, and uncomfortable life, during the remainder of a troublesome reign, that he did not know what to do, nor which way to turn himself. But then recovering himself a little, he said, "as she never forgot her love and concern for me to the last moment of her days, she earnestly recommended it to me on her death-bed (and his majesty emphatically added, that it was a just and wise recommendation) to follow the advice of Sir Robert Walpole, and never to part with so faithful and able a minister; this (said the king) is now my only resource, upon this I must entirely depend." \*

Some time after the queen's death, before his hour of rising, George said to baron Brinkman, one of his German attendants, "I hear you have a picture of my wife, which she gave you, and which is a better likeness than any in my possession; bring it to me." When it was brought, the king seemed greatly affected, and after a short pause, he said, "It is very like, put it upon the chair at the foot of my bed, and leave it till I ring the bell." At the end of two hours he rang the bell, and when the baron entered, the king said, "Take this picture away, I never yet saw the woman worthy to buckle her shoe." †

Walpole

\* Horace Walpole's Apology. Walpole Papers.

† Communicated by Theodore Henry Broadhead, esquire, grandson of Baron Brinkman, who possesses the portrait alluded to in the text.



Period VI.

1734 to 1737

Walpole was no less affected than the king. He deeply felt the severe loss of his patroness in the closet; he appreciated the difficulty of guiding the king, when the interposition of his patroness was no more, and anticipated the embarrassments he was about to encounter from the jealousies of a discordant cabinet. Impressed with these sentiments, he closed a letter to Horace Walpole, in which he speaks of the queen's death, "I must have done, our grief and distraction wants no relation, I am oppressed with sorrow and dread." \*

Sir Robert always entertained a high respect for the memory of his royal patroness queen Caroline; and it was principally through a deference to her recommendation, that some time after her death he obtained the deanery of Winchester for Dr. Pearce, and placed Butler upon the bench of bishops.

I shall close this chapter with an elegy on the death of queen Caroline, composed by Dodington. †

Dodington's  
elegy.

When Heav'n's decrees a prince's fate ordain;  
A kneeling people supplicate in vain.  
Too well our tears this mournful truth express,  
And in a queen's a parent's loss confess.  
A loss the general grief can best rehearse,  
A theme superior to the pow'r of verse;  
Though just our grief, be ev'ry murmur still,  
Nor dare pronounce his dispensations ill;  
In whose wise counsels and disposing hand,  
The fates of monarchies and monarchs stand:

Who

\* Correspondence.

† Melcombe Papers.

Who only knows the state of either fit,  
And bids the erring sense of man submit.

Ye grateful Britons, to her memory just,  
With pious tears imbalm her sacred dust;  
Confess her grac'd with all that's good and great,  
A public blessing to a favour'd state.  
Patron of freedom, and her country's laws,  
Sure friend to virtue's and religion's cause;  
Religion's cause, whose charms superior shone  
To ev'ry gay temptation of a crown.  
Whose awful dictates all her soul possess'd,  
Her one great aim to make a people blest.

Ye drooping muses mourn her hasty doom,  
And spread your deathless honours round her tomb.  
Her name to long succeeding ages raise,  
Who both inspir'd and patroniz'd your lays.  
Each gen'rous art sit pensive o'er her urn,  
And ev'ry grace and ev'ry virtue mourn.

Attending angels bear your sacred prize,  
Amidst the radiant glories of the skies:  
Where godlike princes, who below pursu'd,  
That noblest end of rule the public good,  
Now sit secure, their gen'rous labour past,  
With all the just rewards of virtue grac'd:  
In that bright train distinguish'd let her move,  
Who built her empire on a people's love.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

---

## ERRATA, VOL. II.

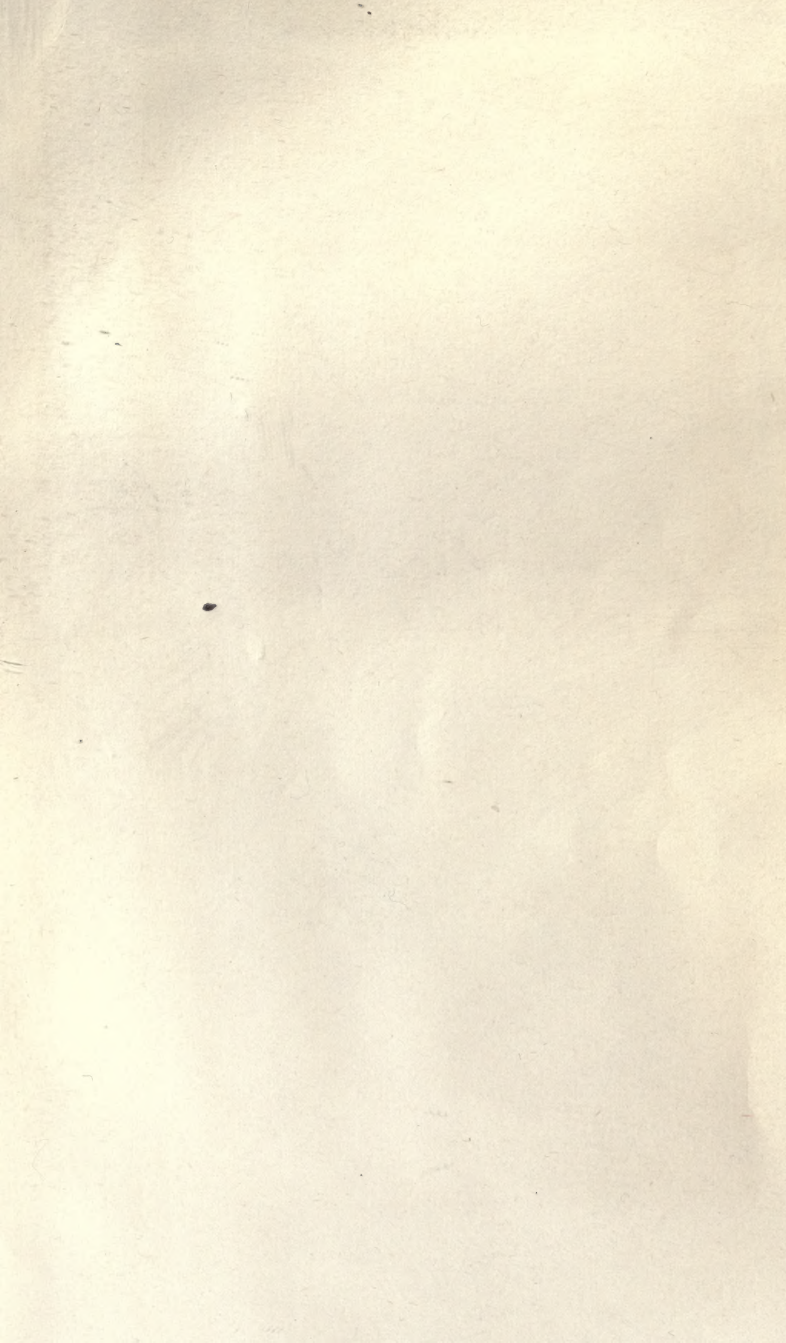
- Page 14. l. 25. *for* Bellendon, *read* Bellenden.  
36. l. 7. *for* inviolable, *read* inviolate.  
67. l. 4. *after* Spain, *insert* a colon :  
69. l. 24. *for* art, *read* act.  
128. l. 5. *for* considerable, *read* considerably.  
150. l. 24. *for* Cerberes, *read* Cerberus.  
160. l. 5. *read* entered into.  
173. l. 3. *for* to minifter, *read* the minister.  
192. l. 22. *after* excise, *insert* on.  
225. l. 25. *for* or; *read* of.  
319. l. 27. *after* Emperor, *instead of* a comma, a colon.  
339. l. the last, *for* ruptures, *redd* rupture.  
340. l. 8. *after* the, *insert* propriety of.  
355. l. 12. *after* Tuscany, *add* on.  
375. l. the last, *after* Juliers, a comma instead of a colon.  
401. l. 23. *for* at the house of lords, *read* at the bar of the  
house of lords.



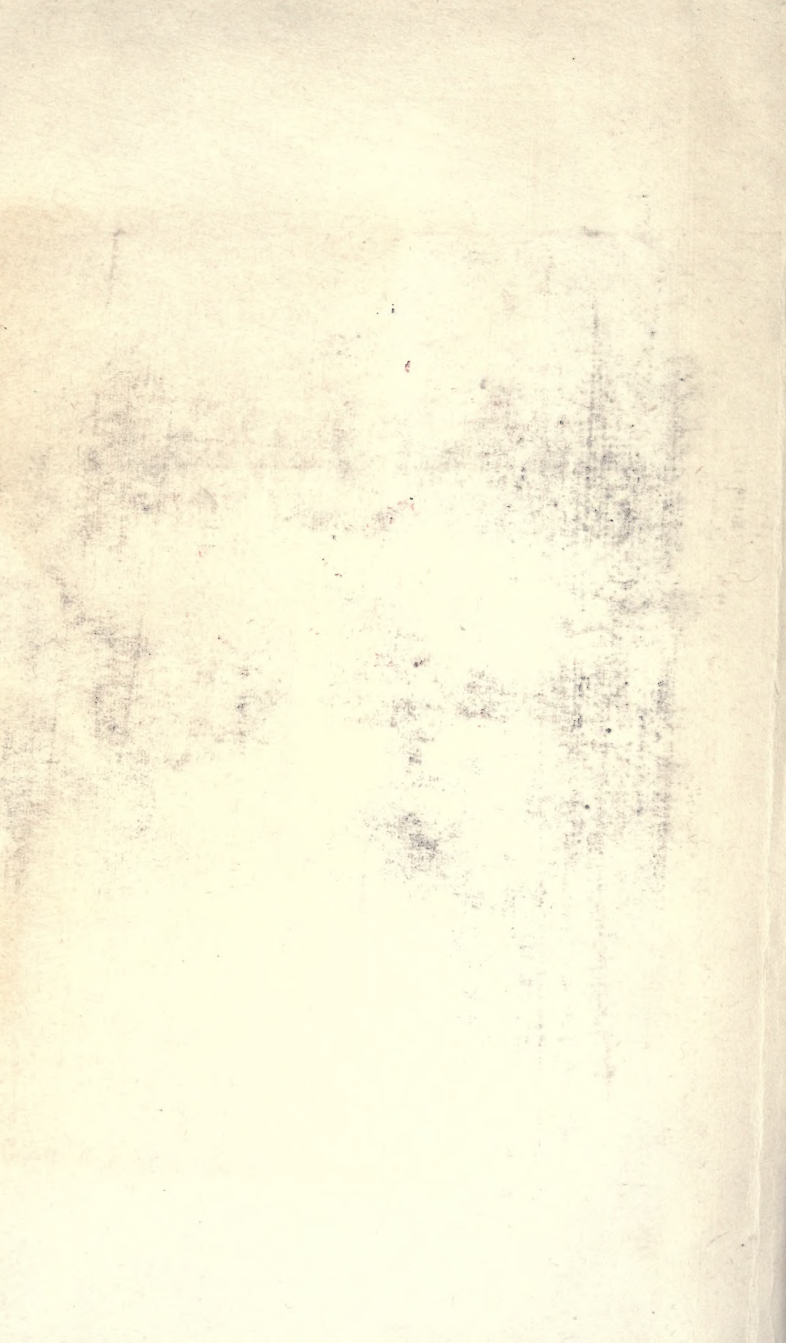


Theory of Supp. d. 1. 7. 35  
page 4. 22

Page 252 Sir L. B. Wyndham and Village  
Page 271 Walpole - plan of the  
first delineation of B. King  
to the Anti. Ministry  
Page 391 - Account of the Palace  
to be a number of Light Portraits







DA  
501  
W2C68  
1800  
v.2

Coxe, William  
Memoirs of the life and  
administration of Sir Robert  
Walpole New ed.

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE  
CARDS OR SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET

---

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY

---

